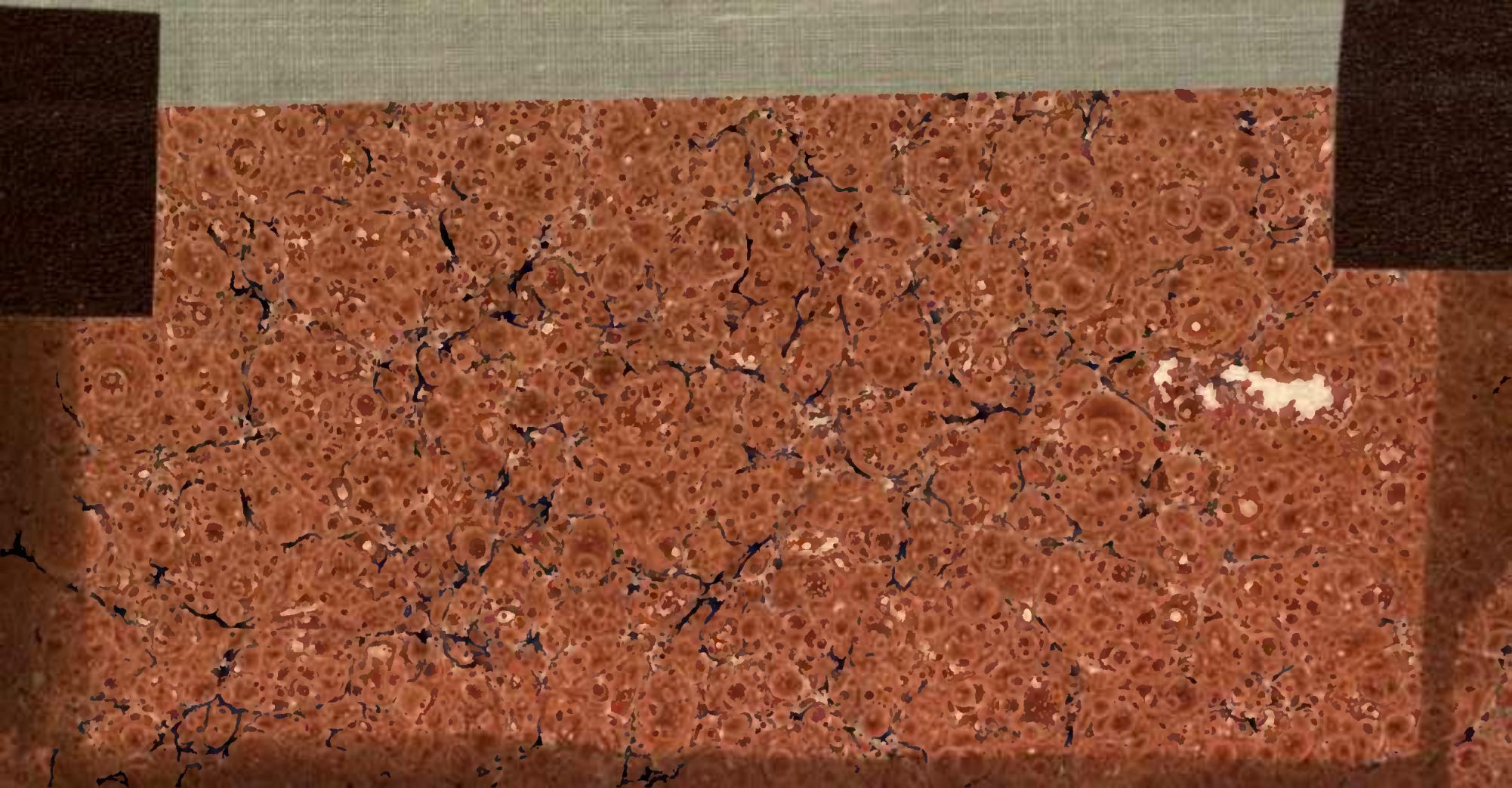


HISTORICAL ESSAYS

UPON

PARIS.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH

OF

MR. DE SAINTFOIX.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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HISTORICAL ESSAYS

UPON

PARIS.

The Wars between FRANCE *and* ENGLAND.

SOME ſyſtematical Authors highly praiſe the Feudal Government; a judgment may be framed of the juſtice of their notions, by the continual diſſentions and wars, which this form of Government occaſioned. I ſaid in the beginning of theſe Eſſays, that my principal object was to convey an idea of the antient cuſtoms and uſages, and particularly of the manners and fundamental character of the French. Hitherto I have deſcribed them amongſt themſelves, and in civil life; we are now going to conſider them in war, and in a war of near 300 years continuance, againſt an enemy, whom they at length drove away, but whoſe hatred and jea-

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lous pride they will never be able to ſubdue. This part of our Hiſtory, tho' of very great importance, has not yet been particularly treated of. I imagined the reader would not be diſpleaſed at my preſenting him with a ſuccinct and uninterrupted chain of Events, which have an intimate connection with each other, and the continuation whereof is inceſſantly deſtroyed in general Hiſtories, by the introduction of other events which are entirely foreign to them. It will, at the ſame time, be ſurpriſing to obſerve the errors, which indolence, inattention, and doubtful authorities, have led our hiſtorians to commit, and which undermine the honor and glory of the nation. This performance has been written with care; I have told the truth; I always quote the Engliſh hiſtorians; I am but a narrator; facts are evidences for themſelves. We ſhall find that Rapin de Thoyras, poſſeſſed of great talents for writing a hiſtory, frequently changes or diſguiſes it. With regard to the collection of public acts, by Thomas Rymer, it is only neceſſary to run over them, to be convinced that he has written many things at a venture.

Rollon was one of the chiefs of thoſe bands of Normans, who ravaged France under the ſecond race. In 911 Charles the ſimple ceded Neuſtria to him, ſince called Normandy, to hold it as a

fief

fief to the crown. As to the ſovereignty over upper Brittany, which, it is ſaid, he alſo obtained, it was only to confer a title upon him, in order to make conqueſts; and his quarrels with the Britons, it may be well believed, were far from being diſagreeable to the Court. He was a very equitable governor. It is true, that upon his death-bed, ſtill wavering in his opinion, between Idolatry and Chriſtianity, which he had embraced, he bequeathed a hundred livres of pure gold to the capital churches of Normandy, and at the ſame time cauſed a hundred of his old captives to loſe their heads, in honor of his native Gods; yet it is probable that every body was ſatisfied, and that this precaution appeared to the Monks of that time, only as a piece of Norman artifice, as in their Annals and Chronicles, they have not in the leaſt diſqualified him upon this account, from the title of a very devout and pious prince. His ſucceſſor was William, ſurnamed *Long-Sword*; William was ſucceeded by Richard *ſans peur* (without fear); Richard *ſans peur* by Richard *the good*; Richard *the good*, by Richard III. and Richard III. by Robert his brother, called the *devil*, who died a batchelor, and deſigned a child he had by a * daughter of a Furrier of

* She was called *Harlotte*. This word in Engliſh implies a woman of pleaſure. She was dancing in the ſtreet, when the duke who obſerved her from a window had her called in.

Falaiſe to be his heir. He brought the boy to Paris; Henry I. who had ſome obligations to him, was very ready to give this child the inveſtiture of Normandy, and took upon himſelf the care of his education. Sometime after Robert ſet out upon a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, and died in his return at *Nice* in *Bithynia*. Young William, who was ſurnamed *the baſtard*, became a great prince, and in the end deſerved the name of *Conqueror*. He gave out that St. Edward *the Confeſſor*, had deſigned him for his ſucceſſor to the throne of England. If credit is to be given to the greater part of hiſtorians, St. Edward had made a vow of chaſtity, and had wedded one of the fineſt women in his kingdom, only to exerciſe this virtue ſtill more, by continual temptation. It is very extraordinary that a prince, who had upon ſuch a motive deprived himſelf of the pleaſure of having children, ſhould juſt fix upon a *baſtard*, in order to make him his heir. William received from the Pope a ſtandard that had been bleſſed, one of St. Peter's hairs, and a Bull of excommunication, againſt whoſoever ſhould oppoſe his enterprize. The Counts of Britanny and Flanders aſſiſted him with troops and money, and part of the Norman Nobility followed him. He embarked at the port of St. Valery, September 26, 1066, arrived on the Coaſt of Suſſex the

28th,

28th, conquered England by a ſingle battle, and at firſt treated the Engliſh with much lenity; but he ſoon fancied he diſcovered that a king could never hope to make himſelf beloved by them, as a natural melancholy rendered them turbulent and ever diſcontented. He ruminated upon the facility with which he had conquered them, and perſuaded himſelf that any one elſe would as eaſily have done it; that their minds were not ſo ſtrong as they were perverſe; that their ſouls were more arrogant than elevated; that their courage bordered leſs upon true bravery than a preſumptuous roughneſs in their character; that their pride was alarmed, when they found themſelves no way feared; that then they began to be in terror, and that therefore he ought not to ſeem to think them of conſequence enough to be treated with ſeverity. Accordingly he did not chaſtiſe their revolts with gibbets and the effuſion of blood; he contented himſelf with loading them with taxes, and making them feel from time to time ſome of thoſe caprices of authority, which are ſo much the more humbling to a nation, as they make them feel the little regard that is paid to them. They revenged themſelves in a daſtardly manner. "A day did not paſs, ſays Rapin de "Thoyras *, in which ſome Normans were not

* Vide Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 27 and 28.

"found aſſaſſinated in the woods or roads, with-
"out it's being poſſible to diſcover the perpretra-
"tors of theſe murders; ſo much did the Engliſh
"favour one another." William *the conqueror* left three ſons; Robert, William ſurnamed *Rufus*, and Henry. Never was man poſſeſſed of a more frank, generous, and humane heart * than Robert; never had a prince a more hard and ferocious one, than William. Their father proportioned this partition of their inheritance to the difference of their characters; he hated the Engliſh, and deſtined William for their monarch, though he was only the younger brother; he loved the Normans, and bequeathed Normandy to Robert.

William *Rufus*, who was killed by accident, as he was hunting, in the 13th year of his reign, left no children; and Henry his younger brother mounted the throne. The good duke Robert, to whom it belonged, had taken the croſs, and by his bravery had greatly contributed to the taking of Jeruſalem. At his return he was willing

* Having been wounded by a poiſoned arrow, the Phyſicians told him, that he could not poſſibly be cured, unleſs ſome one inſtantly ſucked his wound. *Let me die then*, ſaid he, *I can never be cruel enough to let any one expoſe himſelf to die for me.* The Princeſs Sybilla, his wife, took an opportunity, whilſt he was aſleep, to ſuck his wound, and loſt her life in ſaving her husband's

ling to ſupport his pretenſions; but his eaſy good-nature ſoon induced him to give them up. Henry, far from being moved with gratitude, attacked him ſome years after, and having overcome him in a battle, invaded Normandy, ſent him priſoner to Cardiff caſtle, and deprived him of his ſight, by paſſing a red hot braſs baſon before his eyes. Such was the fate of the unfortunate Robert! About fifteen or ſixteen years before, this ſame Henry whom he had beſieged in St. Michael's mount, being in want of water, and ſending to him for ſome, Robert complied with his requeſt, and at the ſame time preſented him with a ton of wine, ſaying, to William *Rufus*, who rallied his generoſity --- "How -- whatever wrong our "brother may have done us, ought we to wiſh "him to die of thirſt? perhaps he would rather "obſtinately periſh than ſurrender; we may "hereafter have occaſion for a brother; and "where ſhall we find another, when we have "loſt this?

Policy alone ſhould have determined Philip I. who then reigned in France, to have oppoſed the progreſs of the Engliſh; but unfortunately his concubine *Bertrade*, had let herſelf be bribed by Henry's preſents. I make uſe of the word concubine, becauſe the indolent Philip had neither the heart, nor that refinement of ſentiment which

is neceſſary to think of a miſtreſs; and beſides he had wedded this Bertrade merely becauſe he was uſed to her, pretty much in the ſame manner as the Cannons and Curates of thoſe times married.

Lewis the Fat, his ſucceſſor, undertook to recover Normandy for William *Cliton*, ſon to the unfortunate Robert. Henry, to ſupport his uſurpation, croſſed the ſea with ſome Engliſh troops. It is eaſy to determine on which ſide Juſtice was. The two kings met near Giſors; Lewis the Fat propoſed to Henry to terminate the war by ſingle combat. "* The two armies applauded "this challenge; but Henry, far from accept-"ing of it, turned it into ridicule: a battle en-"ſued, wherein the Engliſh were defeated."† Fortune was more favorable to them upon another occaſion: the French met with a repulſe near Andeli. William Cliton was at laſt killed before the city of Aloſt in Flanders. Henry, by his death, becoming heir to his brother Robert, who was blind, and whom he kept ſtill in priſon, Lewis the Fat at length conſented to give him the inveſtiture of Normandy, and to receive his oath of hommage and fidelity.

Amongſt the Charters collected by Thomas Rymer, we find an act of convention, which demonſtrates

* Le Gendre.

† Larrey.

monſtrates how little honour our kings generally received from their great vaſſals. It is expreſſed in this act, that in conſideration of a penſion of 400 marks of ſilver, which the king of England promiſes to pay annually to Robert, count of Flanders, "* the ſaid count maketh oath, to de- "fend againſt all men, who may be born or "die, the life, liberty, and all the members of "Henry king of England, and to aſſiſt him in "preſerving his kingdom, without prejudice to "the faith which the ſaid count of Flanders has "promiſed to Lewis king of France; in ſuch "ſort, that if the ſaid king Lewis is inclinable "to attack the kingdom of England, he Robert, "count of Flanders, will endeavour by coun- "cil and prayers to prevent his doing ſo; and "if the ſaid king Lewis perſiſts in paſſing into "England, and carries with him the ſaid count, "in that caſe, the ſaid count ſhall aſſiſt the ſaid "king Lewis with as few men as poſſibly he "can; and at the ſame time, in ſuch manner, "that the ſaid king of France may not be enti- "tled to diveſt him of his fief; *Ita tamen ne* "*inde feodum ſuum erga regem Franciæ foris* "*faciat.*"

Lewis the Young, ſucceſſor to Lewis the fat,

 repudi-

* Vide Rymer, Acta Publica Reg. Angliæ, vol. i. p. 2, 4, 7.

repudiated Leonora of Aquitaine, and returned her the Dower ſhe brought him, though he had two daughters by her. A ſhort time after ſhe married again, with Henry II, ſon to Geoffrey count of Anjou, and Matilda daughter of Henry I. king of England; ſo that Henry II. by his father's ſide had Anjou, Touraine and la Maine, and by his mother's ſide England and Normandy; and by the Dower which Leonora of Aquitaine brought him, he added to theſe poſſeſſions Poitou, and all Guyenne as far as the Pyrennees. He afterwards found himſelf maſter of Britanny, by the marriage of her ſon Geoffrey to the heireſs of that country.

The imprudent Lewis the Young, could not but be terrified at the ſight of a vaſſal who poſſeſſed above one half of the kingdom, and who was not leſs to be dreaded for his ſecret Intrigues, than when he made an open attack at the head of an army. Ireland was a convincing proof of this: he had conquered it without ſieges, or battles, and without having the leaſt pretenſions to it, ſolely by his underhand dealings, and his addreſs in ſowing diſcord among the petty ſovereigns who governed it. He frequently ſaid, *that the world itſelf was ſcarce ſufficient for a great man*. this was declaring himſelf a public enemy. Luckily the embarraſſments, which Leonora of

Aquitaine

Aquitaine created him, obliged him to ſet ſome bounds to his ambition. They lived upon very bad terms together, becauſe he kept miſtreſſes; and every woman who has been devoted to gallantry, and finds herſelf upon the decline, is almoſt always jealous of a huſband that is younger than herſelf. Leonora knew that he was deſperately fond of Roſamond Clifford, and that being obliged to ſet out for Ireland, he had ſecreted her near Woodſtock, in a little Palace which he had built, and ſurrounded with a Labyrinth, the windings whereof ſeemed impenetrable. She repaired to Woodſtock, and entered into the Labyrinth, where ſhe loſt herſelf ſo often, and wandered ſo long, that ſhe was obliged to remain there all night; however, ſhe diſcovered the clue next day, ſurpriſed her rival, and poiſoned her; and to complete her revenge againſt her unfaithful huſband, ſhe excited her children to revolt againſt him, by adviſing them to inſiſt upon her giving them appointments. Whilſt the two younger ſons (Richard and Geoffrey) were gaining over the Inhabitants of Guyenne, Anjou, and Britanny, to join in the revolt, the eldeſt came to Paris. Lewis the Young, whoſe daughter he had married, thought he did nothing but juſtice in giving ear to the complaints of this young prince, againſt his father, and on promiſing to procure him the

ceſſion of Normandy; as it had been ſtipulated when he gave him his daughter, that Henry ſhould yield this Province to the young couple, in order to ſupport their dignity, when they had attained a certain age: beſides the father and ſon were his vaſſals, and in quality of their lord, he was the judge of their conventions, with reſpect to the fiefs which they poſſeſſed in his kingdom. The activity, courage, and abilities of the Engliſh monarch, made him triumph on every ſide, over the leagues that were formed againſt him; but the happy ſucceſs of his arms did not dazzle him: the turbulent and rebellious character of his children, and the advantages that France might derive therefrom, had too much ſtruck him; ſo that, although he was conqueror, and had compelled Lewis the Young to raiſe the ſiege of Rouen, and withdraw his troops out of Normandy, yet he ſent to deſire an interview with him, intreating him not to be the protector of his ſons revolts, but rather the mediator between them and him. Lewis the Young was poſſeſſed of more good faith than policy: he took part in this reconciliation, and a peace enſued.

By one of the articles of the Treaty, it was ſtipulated that Richard, ſecond ſon to Henry, ſhould marry the ſecond daughter of Lewis the Young, Alice of France: this princeſs who was only

only ſix years old, was ſent over to her father in-law, to be brought up in England. When ſhe came of age, Richard, who was then become the eldeſt ſon, his brother dying without iſſue, was deſirous of conſummating his marriage, this was oppoſed by Henry; Philip Auguſtus, who ſucceeded Lewis the Young, ſummoned Henry to let the marriage of his ſiſter be accompliſhed, or to ſend her back to him, and return at the ſame time Giſors and part of Vexin, which ſhe had received as a dower. Henry would neither ſend back Alice, nor reſtore her dower, nor let her marriage be conſummated. Philip enraged at this, being joined by Richard, declared war againſt him, defeated him wherever he met him, and compelled him to ſupplicate for peace. One of the principal conditions of this peace was, that Richard who had engaged in the Croiſade, ſhould marry Alice, upon his return from Paleſtine, and that in the mean time ſhe ſhould be put into the hands of one of five perſons, whom he ſhould appoint. It was not then known that Henry, who had kept Leonora of Acquitaine confined for upwards of a dozen years, was enamoured with the young Alice, that he had debauched her, that ſhe was pregnant, and that theſe were the ſecret reaſons of his refuſal. A judgment may be formed of

the

the probity, honor, and morals of this monarch, when at fifty-five years of age he committed this deteſtable action. He ſurvived the ſigning of the treaty but a few days.

*The firſt ſtep his ſon Richard (ſurnamed Cœur de Lion) took upon his acceſſion to the crown of England, was to come to Paris and pay hommage to Philip Auguſtus; and this viſit, adds Rapin de Thoyras, * procured him the reſtitution of the places which Philip had taken from Henry during the preceding war.* † Philip and Richard ſeemed united in the ſtricteſt bonds of friendſhip, eating and lying almoſt conſtantly together: they ſet out for the Croiſade, and had ſome diſpute in Sicily: this animoſity was increaſed during the ſiege of Acre. After they had taken this city, Philip began to conſider that their miſunderſtanding would, ſooner or later, produce ſome remarkable occurrence, equally fatal to them both, and advantageous to Saladin; that they were not agreed even with reſpect to the king ‡ they were to nominate for the chriſtians of the eaſt, after they ſhould have conquered Jeruſalem; that many of the chieftains of his army had died of the bloody-flux: that his troops daily decreaſed; that

* Vol. ii. p. 249.

† Vide Leſendre.

‡ Philip eſpouſed the intereſt of the marquis of Montſerrat, and Richard ſupported that of Guy Luſignan.

that he had been himſelf at the point of death, and that notwithſtanding the ſtrength of his conſtitution, he was ſtill ſenſible of the remains of a diſorder, which was by ſome attributed to poiſon, and which had occaſioned him the loſs of his hair, beard, nails and eye-brows. He therefore reſolved to return to France, but at his departure he left 10,000 infantry and 500 cavalry, engaged for three years, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, enjoining him to obey the king of England upon every occaſion, as if it were himſelf: *According to appearances*, ſays Rapin de Thoyras, *he gave him counter-orders in private* *. This partial hiſtorian did not attend, that in the ſucceeding page, talking of the battle of Aſcalon, he relates, "That the duke of Burgundy impe-
"tuouſly attacked the right wing of the Saracens,
"who maintained a running fight, and gave him
"an opportunity of advancing with greater reſo-
"lution than prudence, far beyond the midſt of
"the battle; and that at this juncture, ſome
"troops who lay in ambuſh, ſuddenly ruſhing
"upon them, in a great body, from the top of
"the hills, ſurrounded on every ſide the corps
"which he commanded, and made a great ſlaugh-
"ter." Do men who attack and fight in this manner, appear to have had ſecret orders, to ren-

der

* Vol. ii. p. 268, 269, and 270.

der ineffectual the operations of the general in chief? The duke of Burgundy died of the bloody flux at Acra: the French embarked to return to their native country: the Germans and Italians had already ſet out, unable to ſupport the haughty ferocity of Richard. Moreover, every one was perſuaded that he had no intention to take Jeruſalem, and that he had entered into a ſecret treaty with Saladin, which was as lucrative to him as it was ſcandalous. If from thence he derived immenſe ſums, as ſeveral hiſtorians aver, they did him but little ſervice; he was caſt away upon his return, in the Adriatic ſea. He imagined that by diſguiſing himſelf like a Pilgrim, he might venture to croſs the territories of Leopold marquis of Auſtria; but he was known and taken up, whilſt he was performing the office of turn-ſpit in the kitchen of an inn. Leopold, whom he had inſulted at the ſiege of Acra, ſold him to the emperor, Henry VI, who kept him fifteen months in priſon.

Upon Philip's departure from Syria, he had promiſed not to attack any of Richard's poſſeſſions in France, till forty days after Richard was returned into his own dominions; it is ſaid, he broke his word, being deſirous of availing himſelf of the advantage of his enemy's abſence, to attack

attack Normandy. We have ſeen that Alice Philip's ſiſter, had been betrothed to Richard, and that ſhe had received for her Dower Giſſors and part of Vexin. When theſe two princes quarrelled in Sicily, Richard ſaid to the count of Flanders, who endeavoured to reconcile them, that he was ready to make the firſt overtures; but that to prevent beforehand * any new occaſion of diſpute, he was obliged to declare to Philip, that he would never marry his ſiſter for reaſons, which he would ever keep ſecret; if Philip however would abſolutely know them, he would point out proper Perſons of whom he might learn them. Philip interrogated theſe People whoſe veracity he had no reaſon to ſuſpect, and learnt that Alice had had a child by Henry: he therefore no longer inſiſted upon the marriage, but upon his return into France, ſent for his ſiſter, who had remained at Rouen. Rapin de Thoyras agrees that the Seneschal of Normandy refuſed to give her up. The reader is therefore left to judge, whether Philip had any reaſon to be diſpleaſed, and whether marching to Rouen in order to obtain the reſtitution of this Princeſs, and her Dower, was attacking

* Vide *Daniel* Vol. iv. p. 58.

attacking Richard's dominions. She afterwards marrïed the Count de Ponthieu.

Philip produced ſome Letters, wherein he was adviſed that Richard had formed a Deſign of aſſaſſinating him by the Emiſſaries * of old *de la Montagne*. Richard accuſed Philip of having offered large Sums to the Emperor to detain him in Priſon; *aud this roaring lion* ſay the Engliſh Hiſtorians, *was no ſooner at liberty, than he breathed nothing but vengeance.* What was done after all by this roaring lion? He gained an advantage over Philip in two battles, and was defeated upon ten other different occaſions: Rapin de Thoyras aſſerts ‡ "That theſe two princes, finding their forces "were too equal for either of them to expect "making any great progreſs in this war, at "length deſired to make peace." this equality of ſtrength required more explanation from this hiſtorian.

* As Henry count of Champaign who was cotemporary with Philip Auguſtus, was paſſing through the Dominions of the Prince des Aſſaſſins, that Prince aſked him, whether he had as obedient ſubjects as his were; and without waiting for a reply, gave a ſign to three young men who inſtantly went to the top of a very high tower, from whence they threw themſelves headlong, and were killed. Every one knows that the aſſaſſins believed that the death to which they expoſed themſelves in executing the orders of their Chief, conveyed them directly into Paradiſe.

‡ P. 287.

hiſtorian. Thus much is certain, that neither Province nor Dauphiny, at that time made part of France; and that Richard, beſides England and Ireland, was in poſſeſſion of Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, part of Berri and Auvergne; Poitou Limouſin, Angoumois, Perigord, Saintonge, and in general of all Guyenne.

Rigord and William of Britanny, cotemporary hiſtorians, relate that the two armies were ſituated in ſight of each other near Iſſoudun in Berri, and that every thing ſeemed to prognoſticate a very bloody battle, when of a ſudden Richard went into Philip's camp, and ſeemed ſo ſenſibly affected with the diſtreſſes which their animoſity occaſioned to their Subjects, that he deſired his friendſhip. Theſe two Monarchs, add they, embraced each other, and ſeated themſelves apart at the foot of an old Tree: a few moments after, they were ſeen to riſe and draw their ſwords; it was imagined, that ſome reproachful expreſſion had given a freſh edge to their reſentment; it was a ſerpent of a moſt monſtrous ſize coming out of the tree which they had luckily perceived juſt as it was ready to ſpring upon them; they killed it, continued their conference, and agreed upon a Treaty, whereby Philip conſented

ſented to retain no other conqueſts he had made, than Vexin and Evreux, and thoſe of Vexin in Normandy.

Aimar, viſcount of Limoges, having found a treaſure upon his eſtate, Richard † pretended it belonged to him as Lord of Limouſin, and laid ſiege to the Caſtle of Chalus, whither Aimar had retired: here he received a wound, which cauſed his Death April 6. 1199. ‡ "*His* "*courage*, ſays Rapin de Thoyras, which bor- "dered upon rage, was the Reaſon of his "being ſurnamed Coeur de Lion." Lions are not traitors; § he was one, as well towards his Allies as his Enemies, and kept no faith with his Subjects; he is accuſed of having formed a deſign to aſſaſſinate Philip Auguſtus and the marquis of Montferrat. The circumſtance, which I am going to relate, will I believe, evince, that he might without injuſtice, be ſuſpected of ſuch crimes. John Lack-land, his brother, with whom he was at variance, having taken refuge in France, where Philip ‖ allowed him to keep a body of Troops

† It is ſaid this treaſure conſiſted of a table, round which were ſeated an Empero, his wife, and ſeveral Children, and that theſe figures were as large as life, and the whole made of maſſy Gold.

‡ Vol. 2. p. 28.

§ ibid.

‖ Vide Larrey.

troops for his guard in the city of Evreux, invited one day all the officers of the garriſon to dinner, and had their throats cut, whilſt they were at table, thinking of nothing but feſtivity; he expoſed their bloody heads upon the walls *, and then ſet out to offer this place to his brother, who gave him a gracious reception. This perfidious cruelty was the inſtrument of their reconciliation; but they gathered nothing from it but the fruits that are inſeparable from crimes, indignation and ſhame. Upon Philip's receiving intelligence of this abominable action, he immediately marched to Evreux, retook that city by aſſault, and gave it up to the horrors of war, looking upon the inhabitants as accomplices with the perfidious John. With reſpect to the challenge, which he ſent at the ſame time to Richard, it was generally condemned: could the French allow their king to hazard his perſon againſt a prince, who had juſt diſhonoured himſelf, by aſſociating himſelf with thoſe who had been guilty of the blackeſt treaſon, and who was at beſt no more than his vaſſal?

Richard dying without iſſue, John Lackland ſeized upon his treaſures, which he profuſely ſquandered away, in bribing thoſe whoſe credit might ſupport his pretenſions; he mounted a throne, where he ſoon attempted to fix himſelf by

* Vide Philip. book iv.

by criminality. The pretenſions of his nephew, young Arthur count of Britanny, and ſon to Geoffrey * his elder brother, kept him inceſſantly alarmed: he ſtabbed him, it is ſaid, with his own hand, in the town of Rouen, after having taken him priſoner in battle. Philip Auguſtus was ſovereign lord of the deceaſed, of the aſſaſſin, and of the place where the aſſaſſination was committed: the Britons craved juſtice at his hands, he convened the court of Peers: John was ſummoned before them, and the citation ſignified to him at London. He ſent embaſſadors to aſk a ſafe conduct; *he may come*, ſaid Philip to them; and upon their aſking whether he might return in ſafety, *that*, he replied, *will depend upon the ſentence which the court of peers ſhall pronounce.* John not having appeared, he was declared a rebel, and guilty of violating the faith which he had promiſed to his lord; and moreover, guilty of felony and treaſon, for the attack made in the lordſhip of France, upon the perſon of Arthur his nephew, ſon-in-law † to his ſovereign, and a liege-man of the crown; that in conſe-

* Geoffrey, who was younger than Richard, and older than John, had been dead about 14 years: he had married Conſtantia, daughter and heireſs of Conan *the Little*, count of Britanny.

† Arthur had married a daughter of Philip Auguſtus, and Agnes de Meranie.

conſequence thereof all the lands and lordſhips he held in the kingdom, for which he paid hommage, were confiſcated, and that the poſſeſſion of them would be recovered by force of arms, as far as it might be neceſſary.

Philip hereupon began by attacking Normandy, from whence he drove the Engliſh; and afterwards carrying his victorious arms into Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou, he replaced theſe provinces under the immediate authority of their ancient maſters. The right of reuniting them to his domain, founded upon the feudal laws was legal; whereas the ſcheme which he formed ſome years after, at the inſtigation of Innocent III. to invade England, appeared very unjuſt. When William of Langton was at Rome, this pope had him elected archbiſhop of Canterbury in *his own preſence*; John maintained the prerogatives of his crown, proteſted againſt this election, which had been made out of the kingdom, and which was moreover extorted, as he ſaid, in favour of a ſubject, who could not fail of being diſagreeable to him: Innocent III. treated him as a rebel to the church, excommunicated him, and freed his ſubjects from their oath of fidelity, declared his throne vacant, and promiſed Philip Auguſtus the remiſſion of all his ſins, if he would attack England, and unite that

kingdom

kingdom to France. Philip (according to Le Gendre) aſſembled the houſe of Lords, who ingenuouſly declared that the pope's conduct was offenſive to all ſovereigns, that he could neither take away or confer crowns, and that it would be as ſhameful as it would be dangerous to receive one at his hands. Philip bore the king of England too great an enmity to follow this ſalutary advice; beſides he was conſtantly urged on by cardinal Pandolphe, legate of the holy ſee, who flattered and ſoothed him, called him *the pious and doughty champion of the holy ſee*, and portrayed to him inceſſantly a picture of England conquered, and John his enemy dethroned. When the armament was ready, this cardinal, under pretence of completely heating by his preſence the minds of the people, againſt one who was excommunicated, croſſed to Dover, where John was aſſembling ſome troops; he aſked an audience of him, and approaching with the mild, but dejected air of a miniſter of peace, lamenting the impending ſtorm, and deſirous to diſpel it; *You are loſt*, ſaid he to John, *part of your nobles are now treating with Philip; he is going to put to ſea, at the head of a formidable army; yours will abandon you, and your barons will, perhaps, be the firſt to make you fall into the hands of the French.* John could not be ignorant, that he had entirely

alien-

alienated the affections of his people; and this intelligence correſponded ſo exactly with what he learnt from every other quarter, that the artful legate eaſily perceived his embarraſſment, and by increaſing his apprehenſions, brought him without much difficulty to aſk counſel of him: arrogant minds upon the ſmalleſt reverſe of fortune become the weakeſt. This prince ſwore, and made ſixteen of his barons ſwear for him, and *upon their ſouls too*, that he ſubmitted to every thing the holy ſee propoſed; and ſome weeks after, in executing one of the moſt extraordinary, and at the ſame time ſhameful treaties that ever a crowned head entered into; he repaired to the principal church at Dover, accompanied by ſome lords and officers of his army, and there, in the preſence of a numerous concourſe of people, declared, that of his own free will and pleaſure, and by the advice of his barons, in order to expatiate the ſins he had committed againſt the miniſters of the Lord *, he from that time forward acknowledged himſelf to be a vaſſal of the holy ſee, and as ſuch obliged himſelf to pay an annu-

* He had uſed theſe eccleſiaſtics ill, who had moſt openly declared themſelves for the pope, and amongſt others the archdeacon of Norwich; he impriſoned him, and made him wear a leaden cap, which had been purpoſely made for him. This poor archdeacon fell a victim to this ſtrange dreſs, at the end of a few weeks.

al tribute of a thouſand marks, namely 700 for England and 300 for Ireland; he then took the crown from off his head, and placed it at the legate's feet, as repreſentative of the pope, paid homage to him, and preſented him with ſome pieces of gold, as earneſt of the tribute to which he had ſubjected himſelf. Pandolph trampled the gold under foot, carried off the crown and ſceptre, and did not return them to this abject monarch till the end of five days.

The French army was in the mean time, waiting the return of this legate, in order to ſet ſail. He did return, and appearing boldly before Philip, told him, that he muſt diſband his troops, and think no more of conquering England; that God had turned John's heart; that he was no longer a rebellious prince to the church, and *a hardened Satan, but a mild and devout ſheep of the flock*; that the pope, ever like a clement and forgiving father, having held his hand out to him, could not avoid covering him with his apoſtolic wing, and hurling his thunder upon whoſoever ſhould dare to attack this penitent ſon, whoſe dominions now made part of the patrimony of St. Peter. Philip as much ſurprized as nettled, at this diſcourſe, made anſwer, that after having engaged him, by the moſt holy motives, in an immenſe expence, for an armament as well by

ſea

ſea as land, it was very extraordinary the pope ſhould pretend all on a ſudden to tie up his hands, and that he ſhould dare at the ſame time to impoſe upon, and threaten a king of France: *It is not* (added he) *ſo eaſy to give me laws, as it is to deceive me — withdraw.*

He would doubtleſs have purſued his enterprize; it would have been too ſhameful for him to have deſiſted from it; but the intelligence he received of a league which was forming againſt him in the Low-countries, obliged him to carry his arms on that ſide. The Emperor Otho VI, ſeveral princes of Germany, the dukes of Lorraine, Brabant and Limburg, the counts of Holland, Namur, Boulogne and Flanders, were preparing to attack him. The Earl of Saliſbury joined them, after having ſurpriſed, burnt, ſunk, or diſperſed almoſt all our fleet, whilſt the officers were diverting themſelves on ſhore *. The confederates, ſays Rigord, a cotemporary hiſtorian, fluſhed with their numbers and this dawning of ſucceſs, had already made a partition of France amongſt themſelves; their army daily increaſed, it amounted with the Engliſh troops to near 150,000 men. Philip who had only 50,000, humbled their pride at Bouvines, a village be-

* Vide *Larrey.*

tween Liſle and Tournais. Never was there a more complete, or a more glorious victory.

Whilſt our forces appeared to be employed in Flanders, the king of England had made a deſcent at Rochelle. * After having made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places in Poitou and Anjou, he laid ſiege to the Rock *aux Moines*; but upon the approach of young Lewis, Philip's ſon, he raiſed the ſiege with ſuch precipitancy †, that he left behind him his tents, the ſick, and all his warlike machines and heavy baggage. It is aſſerted that he made a retreat that day of 18 leagues without ſtopping, and yet his rear guard was cut to pieces. ‡. "Notwithſtanding this check "(ſays Rapin de Thoyras 1) he had ſtill troops "enough to hope for great ſucceſs in this war, "if it had continued; but the victory which "Philip had juſt gained at Bouvines, giving him "ſome reaſon to apprehend all the burthen would "fall upon him, he aſked a truce, by the inter-"ceſſion of the pope. Though Mezerai avers "(continues he) that it was by reaſon of the "preſſing ſollicitations of the ſovereign pontiff, that

* See *Vignier.*

† Vide *Guil. Brito.* L. 10.

‡ *Infra unius menſis, filius in Pictoniâ de rege Angliæ & Pictonibus ſine conflictu, pater in Flandria de Othone & Flandrenſibus, triumphavit.* Rigord. Guielm. Brit. Lib. 1.

(1) See vol. ii. . 342.

" that Philip granted this truce; it may never-
" theleſs be preſumed that there was no great
" difficulty in perſuading him to conſent to it;
" he could, in fact, wiſh for nothing more ad-
" vantageous, than to ſee the Engliſh repaſs
" the ſea, as there was nothing to be got by
" them, but on the contrary much to loſe."
Is it poſſible that partiality can ſo ſeduce an hiſtorian, as that he ſhould reaſon in this manner? John had fled before Lewis, whoſe army conſiſted of no more than 7000 foot and 2000 horſe; the lord of Poitou who had favoured his deſcent at Rochelle had abandoned him; his troops were diſcontented, and diſcouraged; the league, upon which he founded all his hopes, had juſt been cruſhed in Flanders; not daring to appear in the field, he had ſhut himſelf up in Parthenay, a city of Poitou; Philip was going to attack him with a victorious army; it was almoſt impoſſible for him to eſcape; but Philip, who appeared ſometimes to deſpiſe the threats of Rome, was neverthelefs too ſenſible of the contagious diſorder with which the minds of people were at that time agitated upon the leaſt excommunication, not to pay great deference to the pope; he was too well convinced of this in the ſequel; beſides he was fond of money; he yielded therefore

to the ſtrong ſolicitations of his holineſs, and the attracting charms of the great ſums that were offered him, * Sixty thouſand pounds ſterling which was paid him in ready money, induced him to conſent to a Truce, when he might eaſily have driven the Engliſh out of Guyenne, and all the other poſſeſſions they had on this ſide of the ſea. † It would have been much more prudent and leſs chimerical for him to have purſued his conqueſt, than to accept, as he did two years after, the Crown of England for his ſon.

The reign of a weak and deſpicable prince, is ſometimes productive of good: The people recover their rights and freedoms, which are but too often little thought of under glorious and ſucceſsful reigns. The Engliſh nobility availed themſelves of the contempt into which John had fallen, to oblige him to renew and confirm by a freſh Oath, the priveleges which they had enjoyed under the Saxon kings, and to which they had been reſtored under Henry I. by the famous Charter of *common Liberties*. Scarce had John ſigned this Charter, than, in order to put himſelf in a capacity of revoking it, he enliſted in the moſt ſecret manner poſſible, in

* Vide Rigord. p. 66. Ducheſne vol. 5.

† Vide Larrey.

in Holland, Flanders, Guyenne, and Poitou, all ſorts of vagabonds and banditti, and repaired to Dover to raiſe theſe different troops. He promiſed them a part of the ſpoils of the nobility, and began by ſacking the Lands of the principal lords in a moſt barbarous manner: the Pope ſome years before had excommunicated this Prince, had declared him unworthy to fill the throne, and had freed his ſubjects from their Oath of fidelity, becauſe he would not acknowledge an Archbiſhop of Canterbury of his creation: this ſame Pope freed him with as much facility from all the Oaths he had taken to his ſubjects, and excommunicated them, becauſe they were deſirous of defending their lives, *their liberties* and properties. Innocent III. that daring, violent and obdurate pontiff, but who according to the Monk Matthew Paris, ſoftened into wax at the ſight of gold, (*Ad omnia ſcelera pro præmiis datis cereus.*) ſtill continued to fill the papal chair. When he was informed by his Legates, that Lewis * had accepted the crown of England, he mounted the Pulpit, and holding up a ſword, † Blade, blade, (ſaid he) "iſſue from thy ſcabbard, ſharpen thyſelf to kill and to glitter."

* From the time of Lewis VIII.

† Vide Pere Dan. Mezeray.

The Apoſtles did not preach in this manner. " He concluded this ſermon in playing off all " his Artillery and deſtroying the Souls of " Lewis and Philip *en ricochet*, if he let his " ſon go; * Mezeray ſays, that thoſe thun- " der-bolts, when they are unjuſt, are no- " thing more than the thunder-bolts of Sal- " monius. Philip durſt not flater himſelf that the Eccleſiaſtics of his kingdom would look upon them in that light; the ſuccours he furniſhed to make this enterprize ſucceed were given in a ſecret manner; he condemned it in publick. *Sir*, ſaid Lewis to him whom he feigned to deſire keeping on his ſide, " I am your liegeman for the Fiefs which " you have given me in France, but it does " not belong to you to give any deciſion con- " cerning the throne of England; and if you " pretend to offer me any violence in that " reſpect, I ſhall make application to the " court of peers: they have heard as well as " you what the deputies have ſaid, who are " come to offer me that Throne in the part " of the Barons and the nobility: My preten- ſions are inconteſtable, and I will ſupport them even to death. Theſe deputies had ſaid, that John obtained the crown only by election; that

* Vide Jean de Serres and Andrew Ducheſne.

that he had publickly abdicated it; that it was true, the Pope had reſtored it to him at the end of five days, but that the Pope could not reſtore what John had not in his power to give; that this prince had at his coronation ‡ promiſed to obſerve, inviolably the Charter of *their Liberties*; that they had acknowledged him for king, only upon this condition; that far from fulfilling his promiſe, he had ſent for foreign troops to rivet the fetters of the nation; that by violating his own oaths, he had releaſed them from thoſe which they had taken to him, that a king particularly one who reigned by election, became culpable like another man, from the moment he was a traitor to his country; that there could be no greater treaſon, than wanting to throw a free nobility into ſlavery, and to render them tributary to a foreign prince; § that under the Saxon kings, and from the time of William the conqueror, many examples might be brought to prove that the order of ſucceſſion was not always followed; ‖ that the Speech of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury at the time of John's election, to the prejudice of Arthur, was a proof hereof:

‡ Vide Rapin de Thoyras vol. 2. p. 305,

§ The Pope.

‖ Vide Matthew Paris p. 264.

If, ſaid this prelate, * *any one of the family of the laſt king is found, who ſurpaſſes the others in excellence, we ought to make no difficulty in ſubmitting ourſelves to his dominion*; that *Prince* Lewis was not only one of the neareſt heirs on the ſide of the Princeſs *Blanche*, his wife, daughter to Eleanor, ſiſter of Richard *Coeur de Lion*, who died without iſſue, but he was the only one able to aſſiſt them; that they therefore came to intreat him to accept of a crown which they had formerly entruſted to John, and which was vacant, independently of all their grievances, from the ſolemn abdication which that unworthy prince had made of it. Such were the reaſons alledged by the deputies of the Engliſh nobility: all our hiſtorians have weakened and mutilated them, becauſe they have gone no farther than tranſcribing from the Engliſh monk, Matthew Paris.

Lewis landed at the Port of Sandwich, May 23. 1216, was crowned at London, where he received the homage of the Barons, and that of Alexander I. king of Scotland, for the fiefs which he enjoyed in England. John who had not dared to riſk a battle by oppoſing the landing of the French Troops, fled before them from County to County, and was in danger

* Vide Rapin de Thoyras vol. 2. p. 295 and 296.

danger of periſhing with his army, in croſſing a Marſh which divides the Counties of Lincoln and Norfolk; as it was, he loſt his baggage and treaſure. Rapin de Thoyras ſays, that this irreparable loſs in the circumſtances wherein he was at that time, threw him into a violent Fever, of which he died at the end of a few days, Octr. 28. 1216. * Other hiſtorians relate, that having with great difficulty reached the Abbey at Swinhead, he was there poiſoned by the Monks, becauſe, ſaid they, he is now nothing but a Tyrant. Some years before, when he was at the head of ſome foreign troops ravaging the lands of his Barons in the moſt barbarous manner, William Albinet governor of Rocheſter, who had ſhut himſelf up with his family in the Caſtle, perceiving an archer who aimed at this prince, and was going to kill him: Wretch ſaid he, turning the bow aſide, "Knoweſt thou that it "is the king? I am ſenſible that we are re-"duced to the laſt extremity, that we are in "want of every thing; that we have no hopes "of being ſuccoured; that he is going to "attack us by aſſault; that he was always "void of mercy; that he will maſſacre us "all, and that my family and myſelf will be

* Vol. II. p. 357.

" the firſt victims that he will ſacrifice to his " implacable enmity : ——— but it is the " King."

He was ſurnamed John Lack-land, becauſe Henry II. his father, had deſigned nothing for him in the firſt partition he made of his Dominions amongſt his children : it's ſaid, he had this ſurname fixed upon him after his death. The monks of Wincheſter ſpread abroad amongſt the People, that a continual noiſe was heard upon his tomb, and that hideous cries frequently iſſued from it ; they caſt his body into an open Field.

He leſt two Sons ; Henry the eldeſt was but ten years old. The greater part of the Barons began to reflect, that by acknowledging him for king, there would be a minority : this is a flattering proſpect for reſtleſs and phlegmatic ſpirits, who want to feed themſelves with new arrangements in the ſtate, factions, intrigues, and cabals : beſides in the preſent ſituation of this young Prince's affairs, every one was in hopes of having his own price in joining with him. They had received Lewis as their deliverer, which he really was : but as ſoon as the violation of Oaths is thought of, pretences are ſoon invented to give a gloſs to treaſon, they ſaid that he had not only diſtruſt-

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ed them, but that he had been guilty of injuſtice towards them, and had affronted them, by beſtowing the government of ſeveral important Places upon Frenchmen. Some were baſe enough to pretend continuing in his intereſt, in order to find opportunities of betraying him by perfidious Counſels. * The Count de Perche reproached them with this at the battle of Lincoln, where the French troops were in a moſt diſadvantageous ſituation cut to pieces, without being able either to make an attack, or to defend themſelves. This loſs was ſucceeded by another at ſea ; ſome little ſuccours which came from Calais, were defeated, *and what contributed the moſt to our victory*, ſays an Engliſh † hiſtorian, *was that we had on board our Ships a very great quantity of quick lime ; we caſt it into the air, and a favourable wind blew it into the eyes of the French, and blinded them.*

Lewis ſaw himſelf blocked up in London ; *We muſt get rid of him*, was the cry of an arrogant and baſe mob, *he is a French Prince.* He had indeed all the courage and dignity of one ; he knew the Engliſh, and ſeemed leſs provoked to ſee himſelf ſhamefully abandoned by them, than anxious to give them up : he ſent a meſſage to the Earl

* Rapin de Thoyras Vol. II. p. 384.

† ibid. Note.

Earl of Pembroke, tutor to young Henry, whoſe army was approaching to acquaint him, that he was ready to treat, *but declaring to him at the ſame time*, ſays Rapin de Thoyras, § *that he would never conſent but to an honourable peace, and which ſecured thoſe who had called him over to England from every kind of harm.* This generous care, if they did not deſire it, was worthy of him. All our hiſtorians, Mezerai, Le Gendre, Daniel &c. have advanced that this prince, by one of the Articles of the Treaty, promiſed that he would endeavour to engage his father to reſtore all the provinces on this ſide of the ſea, confiſcated under king John, or that he himſelf would yield them up, when he came to the throne. ‖ In this Treaty, which conſiſts of 18 Articles, there is not one that makes mention of this reſtitution, Rapin de Thoyras ** and John le Clerc agree, that if Louis entered into ſuch an engagement, it was probably only a *verbal* one or by ſecret Articles; *** they ſhould have frankly acknowledged, what indeed they thought, that the pretended promiſe of this reſtitution is a fact ſhamefully and falſely alledged by the Monk Matthew

§ Vol. II. p. 385.

‖ Vide Rymer, Acta publica T. 1 p. 74.

** Vol. II. p. 385.

*** See Extract of the publick acts, by Rymer p. 668.

Matthew Paris, * and that far from finding any tracts of it in the publick acts of England, proofs to the contrary are there found, since it is not to be questioned, that Henry would not have failed to make frequent mention of this promise, and the breach of it, in his declarations of war, † or Truces, and in the complaints he made to the Pope who was guarantee of the Treaty between Lewis and him; now ‡ he never mentions it.

Moreover

* *Matthew Paris* was an Englishman and a monk of St. Albans; His history begins at the conquest of England by William the Conqueror, and ends in 1259. Henry second son to John *Lack-land*, honoured him with his friendship.

† Acta publica T. 1. p. 93.

‡ When the queen (Blanche) learnt that her son Lewis, was taken prisoner by the Saracins, she wrote to Henry, who had also taken up the Cross, soliciting him to accomplish her vow, and to go to the succour of the Christians: Henry wrote to her, and to Lewis, *that he would hasten his departure, if the provinces that were confiscated from his father John* Lack-land *were yielded to him*; he would not have failed to have added, *agreeable to the promise which was made me by the late king Lewis* VIII.: he does not say a word of this: Lewis VIII. therefore never engaged to make this restitution, either by secret articles, or verbally.

Litera Henrici III Regis Angliæ, Ludovico IV Regi Franciæ.

anno 1252 | *Requisiti dudum per Literas vestras quod adventum nostrum acceleremus in succursum Terræ sanctæ, recolimus serenitati vestræ rescripsisse quod, si Terras nostras per vos & progenitores vestros occupatas freti salubri consilio nobis redderetis, passagium nostrum acceleraremus, & personam & res nostras exponeremus in ob-*

Acta publica T. 1. p. 167. | *sequium crucifixi ad honoris vestri incrementum. Et licet jam passagium nostrum sit juratum, &*

certa

Moreover a peruſal only of the treaty removes every likelihood of this promiſe; Lewis does not there talk like a prince who receives laws; on the contrary he impoſes conditions in favour of his adherents and allies; he inſiſts upon the payment of the ranſoms which are due to him, and they are promiſed him: it may be diſcovered by all the articles, that he imagines he ſhould paſs over a golden bridge; and in fact beſides 5000 marks of ſilver which the City of London had lent him, he received 15000 more, in ready money, upon condition of never returning again to England with an evil intent. Our hiſtorians ever lazy, and who frequently go no farther than to copy

certo tempore ſtatutum, idem tamen paſſagium anticipabimus, potenter nos accingendo ad prædictæ Terræ ſuccurſum, dum tamen occupata prædicta nobis benigne reſtituatis, quod veſtræ Regiæ dignitati ad ſalutem cedet perpetuam, & laudem famæ temporalis.

The queen (Blanche) ſemed diſpoſed to yield Normandy to Henry, but the French Barons oppoſed it: if the queen regent, ſaid they, through the natural affection of a mother deſirous of ſnatching her ſon from the hands of the Saracins, is inclinable to take ſuch a ſtep, ſhe cannot expect that we ſhould ever conſent to it, and that we ſnould approve of any one's looking upon the ſentence of the Peers, that condemned John *Lack land*, who was thereby deprived of Normandy as trifling and void: it would be very aſtoniſhing, they added, that the king himſelf ſhould preſume to engage in ſuch matters without our conſent: *ab ſit enim ut duodecim parium judicium quo juſtè abjudicatur Rex Anglorum & privatur Normandiâ, caſſetur & pro frivolo habeatur . . factum eſt murmur horribile inter Magnates francorum, quod ſine conſenſu univerſalis Bernagii, talia præſumeret Rex Franciæ præmeditari.* Matthew Paris p. 558, 604 and 605.

copy from one another, have either never enquired after the original piece, or have been ignorant of it; they have imprudently referred to Matthew Paris; not only the character but the whole life of Lewis VIII. would have been evidence againſt the aſſeverations of the Engliſh Monk, had they once reflected; never was a Prince more courageous, or leſs liable to be guilty of an action unworthy of a Frenchman. Beſides, * as ſoon as he offered to withdraw himſelf, ſays Rapin de Thoyras, "The Earl of Pembroke did not he-"ſitate giving his conſent to it, conſidering that "the king of France's troops and money were "not ſo much exhauſted, as to render him un-"able to make ſtill great efforts for diſcharging "the Prince his ſon." ‡ This hiſtorian ſhould have added that the king of France had 25 Hoſtages at Compiegne, which had been given him by the Engliſh Barons, and doubtleſs were of the moſt illuſtrious families in England.

Young Henry, immediately after his being proclaimed king by the Lords of his party, had paid the homage of his crown to the Pope, in the hands of the legate, confirming alſo the gift his father had made to the holy See: this was the reaſon that his Holineſs intereſted himſelf ſo warmly

* Vol. 2. p. 385.

‡ Rapin de Thoyras Vol. 2. p. 353. Daniel Vol. 4. p. 235. Larrey vol. 1. p. 469.

warmly in his favour, whilſt through eſteem he pontifically excommunicated Lewis every Sunday, knowing him to be incapable of ever ſubmitting to this ſhameful homage; and this gave the finiſhing hand to the opprobium of the Engliſh barons; they did not only betray a Prince whom they had called over, but alſo the honour and rights of their nation, becauſe in ſubmitting to the dominion of Henry, they acknowledged England to be a fief, and a tributary fief of Rome. Some amongſt them endeavoured to excuſe themſelves, by ſaying that Philip ſhould either not have ſent them his ſon, or that in ſending him, he ſhould openly have aſſiſted him with all the forces of his kingdom. It's true, this monarch's conduct was very ſingular; he ſent only feeble ſuccours in compariſon of thoſe which he might have given; he ſuffered the French biſhops to publiſh the excommunication againſt Lewis; he confiſcated his lands, and daily ſaid that he would neither ſee him nor ſpeak to him, to avoid expoſing himſelf to the contagion of an excommunicated perſon: did not he hereby himſelf furniſh the Engliſh Eccleſiaſtics with the neceſſary reaſons for retaining the people in the party which the Pope favoured?

Philip Auguſtus died July 14th. 1223.; our hiſtorians, and amongſt others Father Daniel, the

the conſtant copier of Matthew Paris, ſay that upon Lewis VIII's acceſſion to the crown, Henry ſent to him to aſk the reſtitution of Normandy, Anjou, Maine and Poitou, *agreeable to the treaty concluded between them at London*; that Lewis anſwered that he poſſeſſed thoſe provinces, by the right of war, by that of a Sovereign over his rebellious vaſſals, and in conſequence of the ſentence given againſt John *Lackland*, by the court of peers; that moreover he did not think himſelf obliged to fulfil a treaty, ſeveral articles of which Henry himſelf had firſt violated. I have proved that Lewis never engaged to reſtore theſe provinces, and he loſt no time to make it known, that he had on the contrary reſolved to drive all the Engliſh out of his kingdom. He declared that Henry having failed in duty as vaſſal by not appearing at his coronation in quality of Duke of Guyenne, he confiſcated anew all the moveable fiefs of the crown; which had belonged to the kings of England. He aſſembled his army near Tours, paſſed the Loire, defeated the Engliſh in the country of Aulnis, made himſelf maſter of Niort, St. John d'Angeli, Rochelle, Limouſin, Perigord, and in general of all that they poſſeſſed on this ſide of the Garonne; there remained nothing more to do but to drive them from Bourdeaux and Gaſcony, when unfortunately

unfortunately upon the repreſentation of the Pope and the Eccleſiaſtics, he abandoned his object to turn his arms againſt the count de Toulouſe and the heretics of Languedoc; *he granted Henry a truce, ſays le Gendre, in conſideration of the Sum of* 30,000 *Marks.* *

Matthew Paris makes Louis VIII. die at the ſiege of Avignon, being poiſoned by the count de Champagne; it is very certain that he took that city Septr. 12. 1226. and that he did not die till two months after, Novr. 8. at Montpenſier in Auvergne. If William de Puilaurens, a cotemporary writer, is to be credited upon this ſubject, the Phyſicians † having declared to this prince that his diſorder was occaſioned by an exceſs of continence and health, his chamberlains introduced to his bedſide whilſt he was aſleep, a young girl of exquiſite beauty, to whom they earneſtly recommended to ſay, that ſhe did not come there

excited

* vol. 3. p. 270.

† *Sentiens Arcambaldus de Borbonio poſſe juvari Regem amplexu fæminæ, quæſitam virginem ſpecioſam ac generoſam, atque edoctam, qualiter Regi ſe offerret & loqueretur, quod non libidinis deſiderio, ſed auditæ infirmitatis auxilio adveniſſet, dormiente rege, à cubiculariis ejus, de die fecit in thalamum introduci; quam Rex evigilans, cum vidiſſet aſpirantem, quæſivit quæ eſſet & qualiter introiſſet? Quæ ſicut edocta erat, ad quid advenerat, referavit; cui gratiatus rex ait; non ita erit, puella, non enim peccarem mortaliter ullo modo, & convocato Dom. Arcambaldo de Borbonio, mandavit tam honorificè maratari.* Guil. de Podio lau entii. cap. 36.

excited by any laſcivious deſires, but ſolely from the generous motive of a Subject who ſhould be charmed to preſerve a life ſo precious to the State. Lewis, when he awoke, aſked this young perſon in a very gracious manner, what ſhe wanted; this ſhe gave him to underſtand by her bluſhes, the embarraſſment ſhe was under, and ſome words feebly articulated; No, no, (ſaid he) *I would rather die than commit a mortal ſin.* He cauſed the remedy to be taken from him, recommending it however, to Archambaud de Bourbon to recompence her good intentions, and to wed this elegant virgin in an honourable way.

S. Lewis, his ſucceſſor, gave the inveſtiture of the county of Poitou to his brother Alphonſo; Hugh count de la Marche aſſembled troops, fortified himſelf in his cities and caſtles, and had the effrontery to declare to Alphonſo, that he no longer acknowledged him for his Lord, and aſked ſuccours from the king of England. Henry was not very ſcrupulous in the faithful obſervance of his Oaths; ſo that though the truce with France was not expired, he put to Sea and landed at the port of Royan. The great Chronicle of St. Denis relates that the counteſs de la Marche, the handſomeſt, the moſt impious, and the moſt wicked * of her age, *went to meet him, and ſaid to him;*

* She wanted to poiſon S. Lewis.

him; Good dear ſon, you are very kind to come in this manner to ſuccour your brothers, * *whom the ſon of Blanche of Caſtille would too much trample upon and tread under foot.* Theſe ſons of Blanche of Caſtille deſcended from Robert *the Strong*, and the kings of England from Torquet, † a private gentleman of Britanny; but ſetting aſide the origin of the two houſes, this counteſs, though a widow of John *Lack land* and mother to Henry, having beſides quitted her rank to wed a count de la Marche, ſhould not have been ſo puffed up as to ſay, that ſhe would ſooner kill herſelf *than bend her knee before the wife of Alphonſo*, a ſon of France.

S. Lewis marched againſt the Engliſh, and found them encamped on the other ſide of the Charente; having gained the ſhore, ſabre in hand, at the head of his guards, he forced all the barricades of the bridge of Taillebourg; at the ſame time part of his army having forded the river, or croſſed it in boats, obliged the enemy to abandon the ſhore, and ſoon made themſelves maſters of ground enough to form themſelves in battle array. Henry was in conſternation at the prodigies of valour he ſaw S. Lewis perform, and ſtrongly recommended to his brother to endeavour

* They were only half brothers to Henry.

† Father of Ingelger, a branch of the Counts of Anjou, kings of England.

vour amuſing him by propoſals of peace. Richard threw off his caſque and cuiraſs, took a white truncheon in his hand, came into our army, and was conducted to the king, of whom he obtained a ſuſpenſion of arms till the next day. This was in the month of July: at day break our troops diſcovered the Engliſh had decamped: we followed them, but could not come up with them till near ten o'clock. The ground was advantageous for them, being ſituated between two hills, and interſected with vineyards; Prince Richard, the earls of March and Leiceſter, drew them up in order of battle, and endeavoured to animate them by their diſcourſe and example: it was a long and bloody battle; but at length they were broken on every ſide, and Lewis purſued, not ſo much with the deſign of accompliſhing their defeat, as to prevent bloodſhed, and the impetuoſity of troops fluſhed with the Victory. Henry being apprehenſive that he ſhould be inveſted in Xaintes, flew as far as Blaye, and not thinking himſelf in ſecurity even then, ſhut himſelf up in Bourdeaux.

The propoſals of peace, which he cauſed to be made, were immediately rejected. This was in the beginning of Auguſt, and the French were unwilling to loſe the favourable moment, as Philip Auguſtus and Lewis VIII. had done of driving the

the Engliſh out of the kingdom. Unfortunately S. Lewis ſeemed to be out of order; many of our troops died of a kind of peſtilential diſeaſe; it was feared he had caught it: his diſpoſition was well known, and it was certain if the Campaign continued, he would not leave the army: His barons agreed to grant Henry a truce for five years, * upon conditions of his annually paying £ 5000 ſterling, and that the conquered places ſhould remain in the hands of the Victor. It has been obſerved, that our kings in granting a peace or a truce, were always attentive to ſtipulate payment of a certain ſum of money from the enemy: in thoſe times war was carried on from no other ſource than that of their own ſavings, and the revenues of their lands and domains, which their miniſters had not yet applied.

From the time that ſentence was paſſed againſt John *Lackland*, there had been nothing but Truces between the two crowns; S. Lewis concluded a treaty of peace in 1259, whereby he not only left Henry in poſſeſſion of all that remained to him beyond the Garonne, but even reſtored to him whole provinces, Perigord, Limouſin, Querci, Agenois and part of Saintonge beyond the Charente, on condition of paying Liege-homage for them, and renouncing all his pretenſions to Normandy

* Rapin de Thoytas Vol. ii. p. 444.

Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine and Poitou. This peace ſays Mezeray, " at a time when " nothing was more eaſy than entirely to drive " off theſe ancient enemies to their own iſland, " turned the ſtomachs of all good Frenchmen: " the ſcrupulous monarch would make it, not- " withſtanding the remonſtrances of all his " council, and this is the only time; for he " never happened to run counter to the will of " his Barons.

The hiſtory of Rapin de Thoyras will ever be read with pleaſure: his ſtyle, though not always chaſte, is agreeable; the order, the neatneſs of his narration, and his happy tranſitions inceſſantly attract and carry away the reader: he is equal to the beſt hiſtorians of antiquity for his manner of preparing and arranging the events that are to appear, by pointing out their cauſes; but he was born a Frenchman; the revocation of the edict of Nantes compelled him to quit his country; he hated it, perhaps, becauſe he regretted it's loſs: the animoſity he bears it, is frequently to be obſerved, as well as his glaring partiality for that nation, whoſe hiſtory he wrote. All that he ſays upon the ſubject of the treaty of 1259, is barefaced and contrary to his own ſelf-conviction. I agree with him, that Henry had impoveriſhed England by continually ſending money to Ger-

many and Rome, in order to get his brother Richard elected king of the Romans, and his ſecond ſon king of Sicily; that his parliament complained of this, and at the ſame time of ſeveral infractions of *Magna Charta*: that Henry conſented to appoint twelve commiſſioners, and agreed that his Parliament ſhould have the nomination of twelve more, who ſhould unite their endeavours for the reformation of abuſes: "That theſe twenty four commiſſioners, being "apprehenſive that a foreign war might deſtroy "the work, which they had ſo happily begun, "and that S. Lewis in order to accompliſh the "conqueſt of Guyenne, might avail himſelf of "the preſent diſtreſſed ſituation of England, "came to a reſolution of concluding a firm and "durable peace with France." * I agree to theſe facts; but this hiſtorian afterwards heaps falſity upon falſity, when he ſubjoins that the Earl of Leiceſter took upon himſelf the office of coming to Paris in order to propoſe the terms of this peace, and that the court of France finding the propoſals made by England very advantageous, *were extremely willing to look upon this Earl as duly authorized*, and concluded with him a treaty, *which Henry was obliged to ſign.* I ſhall quote nothing but the Engliſh acts; theſe evince, that

* Vol ii. p. 502.

that beſides the apprehenſion of loſing Guyenne, Henry was abſolutely reſolved upon making peace with France, becauſe it was neceſſary to forward his ſchemes upon the kingdom of Sicily; † that in order to negociate this peace, he ſent the earl of Leiceſter and three other ambaſſadors to Paris, ſo early as the year 1257 ‡ that there were no diſputes at that time between him and his parliament; that this miſunderſtanding did not begin till 1258; that he came to Paris in 1259 to confer upon and terminate the matter with S. Lewis; that they had ſeveral conferences, and that as he himſelf negociated in perſon, there can be no truth in aſſerting, "That the "court of France being extremely willing to "look upon the Earl of Leiceſter as duly antho-"rized, though they were not ignorant of the "ſituation of affairs in England, concluded a "treaty, which Henry was afterwards obliged "to ſign." He ſigned it at Abbeville, and found it ſo advantageous, that he inſiſted upon it's being ſigned by S. Lewis's ſon: his own ſons, his brother Richard and the twenty four commiſſioners ſigned it: he wrote a letter to the Pope, to thank him for his mediation, and to teſtify how well ſatisfied he was with having brought

† Vide Rymer Acta publica T. i. part 2. pp. 25 and 44.

‡ Ibid. p. 27.

this important affair to an iſſue; moreover, when in 1265, he had conquered his Barons and the Earl of Liceſter, and ſaw himſelf for the remainder of his reign, as much maſter in England, as he had ever been, he conſtantly maintained the peace with France, and never thought of exclaiming againſt the treaty of Abbeville; his ſucceſſors (Edward I. and Edward II.) confirmed and ratified it ſtill more by new acts, and if they had any diſputes with our kings, they only related to ſome * lands, which they pretended were dependencies of Guyenne. Can it be credited that notwithſtanding theſe acts, and every thing the moſt evident in hiſtory, Rapin de Thoyras, has the boldneſs to aver † "That the kings of "England, who were ſucceſſors to Henry, did "not think themſelves bound by a treaty, made "in ſuch a Conjuncture of affairs, whereby "France would acquire a right over Normandy, "Anjou, Maine, Touraine and Poitou, which "ſhe before ſupported only by the force of "arms; for, adds he ‡ if theſe provinces had "made part of the monarchy under the ſecond "race, Hugh Capet had given them as fiefs to "ſome Lords, from whom they had reverted to "the

* See the treaty of peace between the kings of France and England and Rymer's Acts Vol. i. part 3. pp. 14 and 15.

† Vol. ii. p. 502.

‡ Vol. iii. p. 228.

" the kings of England by legal ſucceſſion, and " it is eaſier to aver than to prove that Philip " Auguſtus had juſt reaſon for confiſcating " them ?" Is it not remarkable that this hiſtorian ſhould ſeem to doubt that the members of a ſtate ought to be ſubject to the laws which are therein eſtabliſhed, and to the conventions which they themſelves have made and deſired ? The great fiefs of the crown were nothing more than donations which our kings at the death of the feudatory, renewed in favour of his Son, or neareſt of kin, receiving at the ſame time, his faith and homage ; theſe donations were liable to be revoked and confiſcated for ingratitude, diſobedience, felony, injuſtice and wrongs done to the ſovereign, or to thoſe who belonged to him ; it was uſual for the feudatories, who were guilty of any of theſe offences, to loſe their fiefs for ever, without being able to recover them ; and there was the more reaſon for this as theſe feudatories (the dukes of Burgundy, Normandy, and Guyenne, the counts of Champagne, Thouloufe and *

 Flanders)

* We find in Rymer's acts (p. 12. and 8) that the counts of Flanders, in the ſec et treaties which they made with the king of England, promiſed on condition of a certain ſum, that if he had a war with the king of France they would ſend as few men over as they poſſibly could to the ſuccours of the king of France their lord, *but however in ſuch a manner that he could not be authorized to diveſt them of their fiefs* ; the kings of France could therefore

Flanders) were originally nothing more than the removable adminiſtrators of theſe provinces, whereof they had obtained the hereditary property. John *Lack-land*, who was accuſed of having aſſaſſinated his nephew Arthur, was cited before the court of Peers; he ſent ambaſſadors to Paris to aſk a ſafeguard; the anſwer which Philip Auguſtus made was ſimple, juſt and natural; they wanted to object that their maſter was not only duke of Normandy, but at the ſame time king of England, and that if he even ſubmitted to expoſe himſelf to this appearance, the Barons of his kingdom would oppoſe it. "What is that to me? (replied Philip) Is not "the duke of Normandy † my vaſſal? Is he not "liable

therefore confiſcate the fiefs of their great and little vaſſals, in caſes of felony, rebellion &c.

† Normandy was a liege-fief like the reſt. The cotemporary hiſtorian of the life of Lewis the young, ſays, *Normaniam . . . Henrico, filio comitis andegavorum, reddidit, & eum pro eâdem terrâ in hominem ligium accepit.* Hiſt. glorioſi Regis Ludovici. Ducheſne. T. 4.

The king of France in the treaties he made with the king of England calls them *ſes feaux* (his feudatories,) and they ſtile him *their Lord.* "We Henry king of England, will aid Philip king of France *our Lord*, with all our power, We Philip king of France, will aid Henry king of England, our man and our faithful, with all our power. Acta publica Angliæ T. i. p. 17. anno 1180.

This is what we Philip king of France have promiſed to Richard

" liable to be called in queſtion by his Peers for " an attempt committed in France upon another " of my vaſſals and my own ſon-in-law? If he " has thought proper to acquire a higher title, " I am not upon that account to loſe the rights " of my ſovereignty." John not having appeared was therefore judicially condemned to death, and the fiefs which he held of the crown were very legally confiſcated. Moreover the kings of England, who were now become poſſeſſors of more than half the kingdom, had always endeavoured to uſurp the reſt; they were inceſſantly exciting the other vaſſals to revolt, ſupported them in their rebellion, and afforded a refuge for all the diſaffected: this was a continued felony on their part, and I aſk whether abſtractedly from all political reaſons, the love alone, which princes owe to their people, did not require our

Richard king of England, (our faithful friend): Then follows what we Richard king of England, have promiſed to Philip king of France our lord and friend. ibid. p. 20. anno. 1189.

This is the form of peace concluded between us and our dear and faithful John king of England. Then follows the form of peace concluded between Philip the illuſtrious king of France our Lord, and us John king of England. ibid. anno 1200

To the illuſtrious king of France our relation and Lord, Henry king of England &c. ibid anno 1259.

To Philip king of France, our couſin and Lord, Edward king of England &c. ibid. anno 1272.

Similar Letters from Edward II. and Edward III. ibid anno 1329.

kings to exert that right which they derived from the feudal laws, to drive out of their kingdom ſeditious and rebellious vaſſals who were often perfidious, and who from father to ſon, had ſo long cauſed the misfortunes and deſolation of France?

Our hiſtorians, after having falſly averred, upon the authority of Matthew Paris, that Lewis VIII. when blocked up in London, had promiſed to yield the provinces, which had been confiſcated from John *Lack-land*, ſay that S. Lewis, through a tenderneſs of conſcience, and for the repoſe of his father's Soul, made the treaty of 1259. There are even thoſe who adapt another impoſition of this Monk: he ſays that Lewis VIII. had ordered at his death the reſtitution of theſe provinces: the will of this prince is ſtill extant, wherein far from ordering this reſtitution to be made, he bequeaths to his third ſon Anjou and Maine, and to his fourth Auvergne and Poitou.

All that I have ſaid evinces that S. Lewis could have no ſcruple with regard to the confiſcation made by his Grandfather, and renewed by his father: he himſelf declared * to his Barons that he thought it juſt. Why then did he reſtore theſe four provinces? Through impatience to return

* *Vide* Joinville.

return into the eaſt, and to accompliſh the vow he had made of delivering the holy ſepulchre; becauſe he was ſhocked at the thoughts of ſpilling Chriſtian blood, and his heroiſm prompted him only to combat with infidels: beſides, Henry came to viſit him at Paris, was his courtier, and gained his eſteem; *we are brothers in law*, ſaid the pious king; *his children are couſins german to mine*; *I want to eſtabliſh peace between them and the two kingdoms.* * The ſequel does not prove that heaven bleſſed his good intentions.

His ſon Philip the bold, and Edward I. ſon to Henry III. began their reigns nearly about the ſame time. It is proper to be acquainted with Edward I. whoſe memory is as dear to the Engliſh, as that of Charles V. or Lewis XII. is to the French: I ſhall not take upon me to conclude, that his character is in general that of the Engliſh nation; but unluckily one may always diſcern a ground work of ferocity, even in ſuch of their kings as they admire the moſt.

Edward, after having compelled Lewallyn, prince of Wales, to ſubmit to pay him homage, made the yoke of vaſſalage ſo burthenſome to him, that he was forced to take up arms again: he loſt his head by Edward's command, and through a ſcandalous and barbarous deriſion, it

* Vide Matthew Paris.

was expoſed crown'd with ivy, over the gate of the tower of London. * The country of Wales was not diſmembered from the Engliſh monarchy; it had never made part of it, and therefore was not ſubject to confiſcation: David, brother and heir to Lewellyn, wanted to recover his rights; ſome traitors ſold him to Edward, who made his parliament condemn him to be quartered; and none of the horrors of the moſt unjuſt and ſhocking puniſhment were ſpared a Prince, who deſcended from Roderick the Great, and from one of the moſt ancient Royal-Houſes of Europe.

Some years afterwards, Edward was choſen arbitrator between the pretenders to the throne of Scotland, which he decided in favour of John Baliol, and availed himſelf of the opportunity, to aſſert that that kingdom was a fief depending upon the crown of England: John Baliol paid him homage, and did not wait long to feel his moſt mortifying contempt: I deſign, ſaid the Engliſh monarch to him, that you ſhall come to England, appear before me, and attend the bar of my tribunal, when ever I ſhall think proper; a ſovereignity exerciſed with ſo much pride, and to which the title was ſo ill founded, provoked the Scots; they revolted; Edward entered their country

* Vide Larrey.

country three times, and in order to humble them, endeavoured as many times to deſtroy it; daſtardly and cruel he ordered the royal blood to flow upon the ſcaffold; * he even invented new puniſhments for the women, † whilſt in fear of incurring the diſpleaſure of the Pope, he did not dare to puniſh ſome biſhops, who were taken with arms in their hands and cuiraſſes under their habits.

Let us now ſee, after what manner this ſo haughty and terrible prince behaved, with his vaſſals, to the king of France his Lord. Two ſailors, the one an Engliſhman, and the other a Norman, were boxing at the port of Bayonne; the Engliſh ſailor pulled out a knife and killed the Norman. This quarrel was the cauſe of a great many more among the mariners of theſe two nations; a fleet of merchantmen coming out of the ports of Normandy, met with an Engliſh fleet of the ſame ſort; they began to upbraid each other, and at laſt came to blows; the Engliſh were very roughly handled. It was hitherto nothing more, than a ſmall private war, between two individuals; but ſome Engliſh men of war having intermeddled, they took and ſunk near two hundred boats, and afterwards drawing near to Rochelle, attempted to ſurprize this city, while

 privateers

* The brothers of Robert Bruce.

† The counteſs of Bogham, and her ſiſter.

privateers from Bayonne made deſolation round every part of it.

Philip the Fair, diſpatched ambaſſadors to Edward, to know the reaſon of theſe hoſtilities, and to inform him, that he ſhould be cited before the court of Peers, if ſatisfaction was not immediately received; Edward anſwered, that he ſhould always be greatly delighted, to maintain the peace, that had ſubſiſted between the two kingdoms ever ſince the treaty of Abbeville, but that otherwiſe he was not under any one perſon's juriſdiction; that if any of the king of France's ſubjects, complained of their having been injured by any of his, they might come to London with all ſafety; that he kept his tribunal there and would render them ſpeedy juſtice. This anſwer which declared all manner of independence, did not fail to irritate Philip; Edward as duke of Guyenne, was cited before the court of Peers to anſwer for the conduct of the privateers from Bayonne, and others of his vaſſals.

He ſeems to have been one of thoſe advantageous men, whoſe air of audacity is ſoon brought down, and who begin to comply, as ſoon as they are treated with haughtineſs. This vaſſal who was ſubject to no juriſdiction, ſent prince Edward his brother, to excuſe him and anſwer in his name, ſaying, * *that his health would not ſuffer him to be*

* Meseray.

be expoſed to the air of the ſea: Philip was determined, that he ſhould appear in perſon; and as ſoon as the adjournments of the citation were expired, he confiſcated Guyenne, and ordered troops to march into it, under the command of Raoul conſtable of Neſle.

The Engliſh hiſtorians averr, that the queen mother in law to Philip, and the queen his conſort, ſigned with prince Edward a treaty, in order to pacify the king of France on his complaints againſt certain commanders, judges, and privateers, of the dutchy of Guyenne, and to make him publick ſatisfaction; by which treaty the king of England ſhould deliver up to him, the perſons whom he had complained of, and likewiſe all the cities of that dutchy; that Philip ſome days afterwards, upon the ſolicitations of the two queens, would return back every thing, revoke the citation that was paſſed on Edward in the court of Peers, and grant him a paſs, that he might arrive ſafe to Amiens, where he would receive him again, with new fealty and homage. Theſe hiſtorians add, that in executing this treaty, the cities and towns of Guyenne, having been given up to the conſtable of Neſle, Philip broke his promiſe, and kept them. The truth of this fact is, that by this treaty, only ſix places were to be delivered up, that they were

delivered

delivered accordingly, and that he pretended not to have promiſed to reſtore them, until after he had been indemnified for the expences of the war and for the depredations made upon his ſubjects.

Edward ſent to Paris a Dominican and a Cordelier, to reproach Philip, and to tell him, that he did not any longer acknowledge him as his Lord; he made a league with the Emperor Adolphus of Naſſau, the duke of Auſtria, and alſo, with many other German princes, the archbiſhop of Cologne, the earl of Flanders, the duke of Brabant, the counts of Holland, Juliers, Luxembourgh and Bar; but this cloud of allies, after many threats, bravadoes, and much expence to the Engliſh, vaniſhed away in leſs time than it had taken up in forming; ſome failed in their engagements; the troops that were ſent by the emperor, were met and cut to pieces near Comines by the earl of St. Pol, and the conſtable of Neſle; the count of Bar, who had made an irruption into Champagne, was beat and made priſoner by the queen, * who commanded in perſon, and gave all the orders during the whole time of action; a large detachment under the command of the count d'Artois, was attacked by the Flemiſh near Furnes, whom they afterwards fell

* Jane of Navarre, wife of Philip the fair. Mezeray vol. ii. p. 350.

fell upon and charged ſo vigorouſly, that there remained 16,000 of them on the field of battle; Philip took Lille, Courtray, Douay, Caſſel, and Furnes; On news having been received, that the king of England was at laſt arrived to the relief of his allies with ſome troops, and that he was at Bruges with the earl of Flanders, he marched towards that city; and they not daring to wait for him retired to Gand. The Engliſh were not a whit more ſucceſsful at Guyenne, where they had only Bayonne in their poſſeſſion: They had loſt two battles there; the count de Valois had won the firſt of prince Edward, who there received a wound of which he died afterwards; the count d'Artois won the ſecond, of the earl of Lincoln.

Edward perceiving our Army advancing towards Gand, aſked a ceſſation of arms; "I "grant it, (replied Philip to his envoy,) and "notwithanding all my victories and conqueſts, "ſhall never be averſe to peace, when I find "ſincerity in the proceedings of my enemies, "and ſubmiſſion in my vaſſals." The ceſſation of arms was followed by a truce, which the depreſſed Engliſh prince did not obtain as Rapin de Thoyras aſſerts, † "But only thro' the me-"diation of the king of Sicily, and the earl of "Savoy,

† Vol. iii. p. 71.

"Savoy, who interceded for him." This truce by which Philip remained in poſſeſſion of every thing he had ſubdued, was only for a few months; it was prolonged afterwards to two years, and terminated at laſt in a treaty of peace; Edward married Philip's ſiſter, and his ſon Philip's daughter; ‡ he promiſed to abandon the unfortunate earl of Flanders, whom he had engaged to revolt. Guyenne was again reſtored to him, which he had never any hopes of recovering by arms, upon condition, that he ſhould come and pay homage for it in the city of Amiens without reſtriction.

The war between the two crowns was renewed, under the reigns of Charles the Fair, and Edward the ſecond, occaſioned by lord Montpeſat's building a caſtle, three leagues from Agen, upon a piece of ground, that did inconteſtably belong to the domain of France. The officer who commanded on this frontier, received orders from Charles the Fair, to ſeize this fortreſs. The lord Montpeſat gave out that his land held of the dutchy of Guyenne, and in ſpite of a decree which condemned him upon the acknowledgements he himſelf made, the Engliſh commander of the garriſon of Agen joined him and aſſiſted him to retake his caſtle, putting all the ſoldiers to the

‡ She was only ſeven years old.

the ſword, and hanging the officers. Charles the Fair, hearing of this inſolent behaviour, ſo well preſerved his moderation, as to ſend to the king of England, to demand juſtice; poſſibly as it was only French blood that was ſpilt, it was not deemed a crime in thoſe days, at the court of London. Edward had the injuſtice to want to defend this horrible attempt: whilſt he was privately raiſing troops in Guyenne, and fortifying and ſecuring his places, the earl of Kent's brother was at Paris, where he endeavoured to amuſe the king with fair promiſes. Mezeray ſays, that Charles having at laſt declared he was very much ſurprized at their delay in not making him the ſatisfaction and reparation which he had demanded, "The earl of Kent ſet out, car-"rying with him the chevalier Peter d'Arablay, "before whom the guilty were to be brought, "but when they had gone about half way the "earl of Kent diſmiſſed the ſaid chevalier, ridi-"culing him," and threatening to kill him if he offered to go a ſtep farther: The count de Valois entered Guyenne, and made himſelf maſter of all the country between Garronne and Dordogne. Iſabella of France * the wife of Edward, and ſiſter of Charles came to Paris to aſk peace and obtained it. Charles kept l'Agenois, to indemnify

* A collection of treaties &c. by Tillet.

demnify himſelf for the expences of the war, and did not deliver it back till three years afterwards, and then, not without the ſum of fifty thouſand pounds ſterling. He died on the firſt day of February in the year 1328, and during the reign of Philip de Valois, his ſucceſſor, we ſhall ſee the ambition of the Engliſh aſſume a new form.

The fundamental part of the character of a nation never changes; all hiſtorians who have ſpoke of the firſt beginning of our monarchy, paint the French a lively high-ſpirited and paſſionate people, falling upon every thing with impetuoſity that oppoſes them, but generous, *full of* confidence, and magnanimous as ſoon as they have conquered; it's ſaid they admited their priſoners to their table, and gave them a place in their tent; they often returned them their arms, and ſlept by their ſide without the leaſt dread: after having diſarmed them, they thought they had likewiſe ſubdued their courage and reſentment. We had given up Guyenne and Ponthieu to the Engliſh; we permitted them to remain among us; we ſlept upon the faith of alliances and treaties; the hour of waking was dreadful: our kings had always kept their eyes ſhut againſt the neceſſity of ſecuring the tranquillity of their people; they had too often ſpared an arro-

gant

gant and turbulent enemy, whom Heaven at laſt permitted to ſhake their throne.

It will not be improper, before we relate the events of the war, which Edward the third declared againſt Philip de Valois, to examine whether his pretenſions to the crown of France were well grounded.

The women, * among the ancient people of Germany, never brought any portions to their huſbands; they inherited nothing from their Fathers, and the ſucceſſion to their brothers, if they died without male iſſue, paſſed to a paternal uncle, or to his ſons. It is not to be doubted, that the Salick laws were digeſted, (under the reign of Pharamond, or of Clovis) upon the cuſtoms and manners of the Germans. The ſixty-ſecond article of theſe laws, mentioned in the capitularies of Charlemagne, ſays, that with reſpect to the † *Salick land, no part of it can deſcend to the females; but all the heritage muſt go to the males.* Marculphus who wrote about the year 660. introduces a father ſpeaking thus to his daughter; ‡ *there is a barbarous law that we obſerve, which does not permit ſiſters to ſhare with their brothers*; the intention of this law was, to hinder eſtates from going out of French families, i. e.

* *Tacit. de Morib. Germ. c.* 18.

† *Lex Salica Caroli Mag. Tit.* 62. *par.* 6.

‡ *Marculp. L.* 2. *fol.* 12.

i. e. from noble families, or from the families of conquerors, and to keep them from ſtrangers. We alſo ſee in the ſame ſixty-ſecond article, that females were admitted to ſhare in lands, (1) that the conquerors had not kept for them, and which they had left to the Gauls.

Childebert the ſon of Clovis had daughters only. His brother Clotaire the I. ſucceeded him after the demiſe of Caribert, who left behind him no male iſſues: Bertha his eldeſt daughter who was married to Ethelbert, king of Kent, did not pretend to the throne. Gregory of Tours mentions, that Chilperic the firſt, king of Soiſſons, anſwered the * ambaſſadors of his nephew Childebert the ſecond, king of Auſtraſia: "Death hath "ſnatched away my ſons; I have now only "daughters remaining; Childebert, my brother's "ſon

(1) There were two kinds of aleuds or hereditary lands, the Salick-*Aleuds*, and the non-Salick-*Aleuds*. The firſt could not be poſſeſſed but by conquerors and only by males. The non-Salick-*Aleuds*, were lands left to the natives of the country in full property and independant of any particular fee; in theſe the females ſhared with their brothers; the ſucceſſion of a Gaul or a Roman, might deſcend to a Frenchman, who married his daughter, whereas, if a Gaul, or Roman married a Frenchwoman, he had nothing to expect in ſucceſſion from the father, brothers or French relations of his wife, at leaſt with reſpect to the Salick-lands; The Abbe du Bos, to ſupport this abominable ſyſtem, endeavours always to confound the Salick lands with the military benefices.

* *Lib.* 6. *c.* 3.

"ſon is therefore my immediate heir;" Some time after, Chilperic having impeded the marriage of Rigontha his daughter, with Recarede, king of the Viſigoths, * Childebert diſpatched ambaſſadors to him a ſecond time, charging him not to diſmember any part of the monarchy in favour of this marriage. Chilperic gave him his promiſe accordingly, and Fredegonde his wife, (ſays Gregory de Tours) when ſhewing the French lords, what ſhe had given Rigontha aſſured them that thoſe riches were only the effects of her own œconomy, and that ſhe had taken nothing out of the royal coffers: Gontran king of Orleans and Burgundy having likewiſe no male iſſue, contented himſelf, with reccommending his daughter Clotilda, to this ſame ‖ Childebert, his nephew, whom he acknowledged as his heir, and whoſe promiſe he obtained, that ſhe ſhould not be diſturbed in enjoying the riches, which he ſhould leave her by his will. All our hiſtorians have omitted mentioning the precedent of Judith the daughter of Charles the Bald; neither ſhe nor her ſon Baldwin earl of Flanders claimed the crown, when the grandees of the kingdom called her couſin Charles the Fat to it. In ſhort in all our hiſtory, under the firſt, ſecond, and third races for almoſt nine hundred years,

* Ibidem c. 45.

‖ *Ibidem, L. 9. c. 20.*

years, until the year 1316, we do not meet with any one princeſs, who has pretended a right to ſucceed her father.

Lewis Hutin died on the third of June, 1316 and left behind him only a daughter, but the queen his widow was pregnant; on the 14th of November ſhe was delivered of a prince who only lived eight days: Philip the Long, who had been declared regent, on the demiſe of his brother, Lewis Hutin, and during the queen's pregnancy,* paſſed from Regency to Royalty, and was conſecrated at Rheims on the 9th of January 1317. The duke of Burgundy and the count de la Marche proteſted againſt his conſecration, ſaying, that it ought to have been firſt examined whether the daughters of Lewis Hutin had not a juſt claim to the crown; ‖ Rapin de Thoyras ſays, we may infer *from the oppoſition of theſe princes of the blood, which was againſt their own intereſts, that the Salick law was not at that time indiſputable.* An impartial and true hiſtorian would have ſaid, we may infer from the ſingular conduct of theſe princes, that ſmall private intereſts and perſonal enmity exaſperated them againſt Philip § the Long; he would have added, that certainly it was not a ſpirit of juſtice that guided their proceedings, ſince five months before, on the 17th of July

* *Nangii. cont.* ‖ T. iii. p. 269. § *Nangii. cont.*

July 1316, by their own conſent, by the advice of the whole council, and by that of the other princes of the blood and Barons it had been determined and ſigned, that if the queen ſhould only be delivered of a daughter, the crown of France ſhould deſcend of right to Philip the Long; but that of Navarre ſhould go to the daughter of Lewis Hutin, becauſe females are not excluded from that crown.

Philip the Long in order to remove all the pretences of the diſſatisfied called together an aſſembly of the grandees of the ſtate, which was held on the ſecond of February 1317: almoſt all the biſhops of the kingdom were preſent, and the univerſity was alſo ſummoned to attend. It was unanimouſly agreed, *that the laws and cuſtoms inviolably obſerved by the French excluded females from the crown.* The Count de la Marche and the duke of Burgundy ſubſcribed to this deciſion.

Philip the Long having left no male iſſue, Charles the Fair, his brother, ſucceeded him without any manner of oppoſition, and this was a new confirmation of the Salick-law. Charles the fair left only a daughter, and his widow the the queen pregnant; the point therefore was, as at the death of Lewis Hutin, to nominate a regent, and to chuſe according to cuſtom that prince

prince of the blood, who was called by law to the crown, if the queen was not delivered of a boy; Edward the third, pretended that he was that prince, and that they ought conſequently to confer the regency on him. He diſpatched ambaſſadors to Paris, who pleaded his cauſe *before the court of Peers, and all the barony of France aſſembled*, they had not neglected as the chronicles inform us, to endeavour to ſtrenghthen their arguments, by noble preſents and fair promiſes ſignifying moreover to the lords, that the farther the ſovereign was diſtant, the vaſſal was leſs in dependency; notwithſtanding all their eloquence, and intrigues, and notwitſtanding all the gold they ſquandered away, the regency was given in favour of Philip de Valois, as preſumptive heir to the throne: Edward complained bitterly of this decree to his parliament in England; repreſenting in the ſtrongeſt terms his pretended right to the crown of France, it appears however, as it is repreſented by the Engliſh hiſtorians, that his parliament † had not the condeſcenſion to find his arguments of any conſequence. I will relate them, and alſo the anſwers of Philip de Valois in repreſenting the ſtate of the queſtion.

Philip the fair, and Charles count de Valois, were the ſons of Philip the Bold: Philip the Fair, had

† Rapin de Thoyras, vol. iii. p. 158.

PHILIP the Bold, King of France.

PHILIP the fair, king of France.

CHARLES, Count de Valois, his brother.

LEWIS HUTIN, king of France, died in 1316.

JANE who married Philip Count d'Evreux.

CHARLES the bad, king of Navarre, born in 1332.

PHILIP the long, king of France, died in 1321.

JANE, who married Eudes IV. Duke of Burgundy.

Philip count d'Artois, born in 1323.

MARGARET who married Lewis, Earl of Flanders.

LEWIS, the male.

CHARLES the fair, king of France, died in 1328, and only left daughters, who had no children.

ISABELLA mother of Edward III.

Philip de Valois, king of France.

had three ſons and one daughter, *Lewis Hutin*, *Philip* the long, *Charles* the fair, and *Iſabella*, who was married to *Edward* II. and mother of *Edward* III. *Lewis Hutin*, *Philip* the long, and *Charles* the fair, left only daughters; therefore *Philip de Valois*, their Couſin German, ſon of *Charles de Valois*, was the neareſt heir of the male line. It was no queſtion, ſays *Rapin de Thoyras*, "Between *Edward* the third, and "*Philip de Valois*, whether there was a law, that "was called *Salick*-law, which excluded the fe-"male branch from ſucceeding to the crown: "whether this law was real or chimerical, *Ed-*"*ward* and *Philip* were equally intereſted to "improve it, ſince it was the only foundation of "both their pretenſions; without this law, the "crown would have inconteſtably devolved to "*Jane*, the daughter of *Lewis Hutin*. . . . *Phi-*"*lip* the Long, and *Charles* the Fair, had no man-"ner of right to it, and conſequently their Siſter "*Iſabella* could have no claim; moreover, if "the *Salick*-law had not had any force, *Edward* "himſelf could not have had any right to the "crown, ſince he would have been preceded by "the daughters of *Philip* the long, and *Charles* "the fair; he had therefore no manner of occa-"ſion to conteſt about the authority of this "law."

It

It mentions, ſaid *Edward* * that the neareſt male heir ſhould ſucceed; it excludes females, *on account of the weakneſs of their Sex:* but it's intention was not to exclude the male iſſue of the females. † I acknowledge added he, that my mother has undoubtedly no manner of right to the crown, being a woman; but I maintain that ſhe renders me capable of ſucceeding in quality of a male. I am nearer to the preceeding kings, being their nephew, than *Philip de Valois*, who is only their Couſin German, 'tis to me, therefore that the crown appertains.

Philip's anſwer conſiſted in demonſtrating that from the beginning of the Monarchy, there had been many inſtances, wherein the regency had been conferred on queens, that it was not therefore *upon the account of their Sex's pretended weakneſs*, that women were not ſuffered to ſucceed: that the intent of the law was to hinder the ſceptre from paſſing into the hands of a prince of another nation (2) or even of a different houſe from that, to which the ſubjects had paid obedience, the *French* nobility having no idea of being ſtript of their original right to the crown, or to the election of a king, in caſe of the reign-

* Leibnitz. cod. diplom. vol. ii. p. 66.

† Rob. of Aveſbury.

(2) Read the 75th, and 76th, pages of the ſecond vol. of theſe Eſſays.

ing Family becoming extinct; that the ſons of foreign monarchs, and the daughters of our own kings, were never ſtiled princes of the blood, in France, and finally that a mother could not tranſmit to her ſon a right which ſhe had not, and which ſhe * could never have.

I am not ſurprized, that *Rapin de Thoyras* has not cited a reaſon, that was certainly oppoſed to the chimerical pretenſions of *Edward*: but 'tis ſomething very extraordinary, that *Mezeray*, *le Gendre*, *Daniel*, *Choiſi*, and others of our hiſtorians, have not mentioned it; it effectually expoſes the extravagant injuſtice of the Engliſh monarch. † When *Charles* the fair died in 1328, the daughter of *Philip* ‡ the long had ſons; did not the grandſons of *Philip* the long ſtrive to exclude his nephew *Edward*, imagining that an interpretation had been received, that this nephew would devote himſelf intirely to the *Salick*-law: Beſides *Charles* the fair had left daughters, who might be married, and have ſons.

Philip de Valois, ſix months after his conſecration, ſummoned *Edward* to come, and pay him homage for the dutchy of *Guyenne*, and the county of *Ponthieu*. ‖ *Edward* wrote to him, the 14th

* Baldus. † Acta publica T. ii. pars 4. pag. 70.

‡ *Philip* was born anno 1323. the ſon of *Jane* daughter of *Philip* the long, and of *Eudes* the IV. duke of *Burgundy*.

‖ *Rymer*, acta publica. T. ii. pars. 3. pag. 23.

14th of *April* 1329, *that he had for a long time, had an intention to diſcharge this duty, but, that a multiplicity of affairs prevented him from doing it.* He ſolemnly paid this homage, * in the city of *Amiens* on the 6th of *June*; and ratified it by his letters patent † bearing date the 30th day of march anno 1331. The ſame year he arrived in *France*, made a new treaty relating to the affairs of *Guyenne*, appeared very ſenſible of the proceedings of *Philip*, who thought fit to allow him a deduction of thirty thouſand livres Tournois upon the ſum that had been ſtipulated in the preceding treaty. In the beginning of the year 1332; he propoſed a double marriage, ‖ that of his ſon with *Philip*'s daughter, and that of his ſiſter with *Philip*'s ſon. This propoſal ſhews, that he had given over all his vain imaginations, with reſpect to the crown of *France*, or that he was of all men, the moſt wicked and perfidious. § He employed the years, 1333, 34, 35, and 36, to rob by the baſeſt and moſt infamous arts, *David Bruce* who was an infant, and his brother-in-law of the kingdom of *Scotland*. In the year 1337 being encouraged by *Robert d'Artois*, who had fled to *England* for refuge, he pretended to be again

* Ibid. p. 27. † Ibid. p. 61. ‖ Ibid. pars iv. pag. 63.
§ *Rapin de Thoyras* vol. iii. p. 166.

convinced, (1) that he had a right to lay claim to the crown of *France*. He entered into alliances with the emperor, and with many *German* princes: he kept troops in pay from all countries, and when he thought himſelf in a condition to begin war, he wrote to the pope, "That after "the demiſe of his uncle, *Charles* the fair, the "crown of *France* devolved to him, as being the "neareſt heir; that he had been deprived of it, "by a haſty and unjuſt decree; that the ambaſſa-"dors whom he had diſpatched to *Paris*, had not "been heard; that in depriving a minor of a "crown, which legally appertained to him, the "grandees of the kingdom had acted more like "rogues, villains and robbers, than judges: and "that he proteſted againſt every thing that had "been tranſacted during his minority." What would William *the Baſtard* the conqueror of England have ſaid, could he have heard from the bottom of his grave one of his deſcendants treating the French nobility after this manner?

It was well known that Edward's ambaſſadors had

(1) He was ſo little perſuaded to it, that in his letter to the pope, dated the 30th of *January* 1340, he ſays *that if Philip de Valois had made him the leaſt offers he would have been ſatisfied:* et revera, ſi nobis oblationem, etiam mediocrem, tunc feciſſet, ad vitandum guerrarum diſcrimina & expenſarum profluvia, ſuper ea reſponſionem rationabilem feciſſemus. *Rhymer* acta publica, T. i. pars 4. p. 64

(2) had pleaded his cauſe before the court of peers when he ſent to demand the regency, after the death of Charles the fair; he ſpoke of it himſelf * in the aſſembly of his parliament at Northampton the latter end of February 1328. The Engliſh hiſtorians add, that the widow of Charles the fair having only been delivered of a daughter, ‡ he gave other ambaſſadors a full power bearing date the 16th of May 1328, to demand the crown in his name; he was not in great haſte, for it was a month and a half ſince the queen ‖ had been delivered; if theſe ambaſſadors really came to France it is highly probable they did not arrive till after the conſecration § of Philip de Valois; beſides if they had begged to be heard, they ought not to have been ſo, ſince the ſentence of the court of peers imported like that which was given in the caſe of Philip the long, "That ſhould the

(2) The pope in his anſwer to Edward, after proving to him that his arguments were falſe in every reſpect, and that his pretenſions were not warantable; concludes with adviſing him, "To give up as ſoon as poſſible "the title of king of France, a title which would make him "be diſpiſed as a very unjuſt prince, and which could not fail "to draw upon him and his poſterity for ever, the implacable "hatred of all the French.

Acta publica T. 2. pars 4. pag. 70.

* Rapin de Thoyras vol. iii. p. 158.

‡ Acta publica T. ii. pars. 3 pag. 13.

‖ She was delivered the firſt of April.

§ He was conſecrated at Reims the 28th of May.

"queen be delivered only of a daughter, from that "inſtant Philip ſhould be acknowledged king."

Philip having had intelligence of the contents of Edward's letter to the pope replied: neither I nor the king of England could be judges in our own cauſe; it was heard and tried in the court of peers, and before all the barons aſſembled; who unanimouſly decided that my right was indiſputable; Edward never even in his own parliament proteſted againſt this reſolution; he has acquieſced in it for more than nine years, as all the other potentates of Europe have done; the allegation of his minority is ridiculous and trifling; but admitting that was allowable, his parliament had declared him of age, and he governed by himſelf in the year 1331 when he ſent me * his letters patent, by which he declared and ſolemnly ſwore, that he was my leige ſubject, and that he would ſerve me on all occaſions; this act has been followed by many others and particularly by a full power, which his ambaſſadors have ſhewn me in the courſe of this preſent year 1337, by which he empowers them "To "tranſact upon all ſorts of demands, lawſuits, "† debates, queſtions and diſputes, between our "ſubjects and his and between him and us, the "king

* Rapin de Thoyras vol. iii. p. 163.

† Acta publica T. ii. pars 3. pag. 190.

" king of France and his lord, with reſpect to his " lands in the dutchy of Acquitaine and others in " our kingdom, and upon all adjournments de- " pending in our court."

Can it be believed that Edward was not aſhamed to reply, that if he had not made publick proteſtations, he had made ſecret ones in his privy * council by which he had declared, " That " by the homage which he was going to pay ; " he did not mean to prejudice his right to the " crown of France, tho' he ſhould even ratify " this homage by his letters patent, and that it " was only the fear of loſing his lands in France, " which compelled him to take this ſtep. Thus " no power can depend upon the oaths of a king " of England, nor upon the treaties which are " made with him ;" he will always have proteſted ſecretly in his privy council againſt the peace which he has ſigned, when ever he perceives that any advantage may be gained by beginning a new war.

It would be natural to believe, that Edward having aſſumed the title of *king of France*, ſome of our kings had required by treaty, that the ſucceſſors of this wicked prince ſhould continue to retain it, as a perpetual mark of his bad faith and of ſhame to the Engliſh who were driven out of

* Rapin de Thoyras vol. iii. p. 159.

the kingdom, altho' backed and aſſiſted by ſo many rebellious and diſcontented cities and provinces. It was upon the following occaſion that he took this title, with which his ſucceſſors have continued to adorn themſelves, only as the ſatyrical earl of Rochelle ſays, *to preſerve to themſelves the prerogative* (3) *of curing the kings evil.* The Flemiſh had begun to rebel again; their earl had ſheltered himſelf in France; they had for their chief commander, James Arteuelle a brewer.

Edward and this brewer ſtood in need of each other's aſſiſtance; they were ſoon friends, but the Flemiſh refuſed to declare againſt Philip, becauſe they had promiſed him upon oath by the laſt treaty, not to bear arms againſt the king of France their ſovereign lord, and that they had alſo bound themſelves to put two thouſand florins into the apoſtolical chamber, if they acted contrary to their promiſe.

Arteuelle perſwaded them that it was an eaſy thing to remove the ſcruples they laboured under by perſwading Edward to take upon himſelf the the title (4) of king of France; they congratulated

(3) Collyer an Engliſh writer ſays, that this gift came from St. Edward the *Confeſſor*.

(4) He had taken this title in a commiſſion ſent to the duke of Brabant, dated the 7th of October 1537, Rymer acta publica | T. ii. pars 3. p. 192 | but ſoon dropt it ſaying, no European prince nor even his allies were willing to give it him; It appears by

ed themſelves on having choſen a chief who had ſo much underſtanding, and propoſed this expedient to the king of England, who found it at firſt extremely rediculous, " But his council (ſays " Rapin de Thoyras) after mature reflection, " approved of this method of getting the Flemiſh " to enter into the confederacy." We ſee that in caſe Edward had wanted Jews, he would have taken in like manner the title of Meſſiah. He publiſhed a manifeſto by which " He declared to " all good Frenchmen that not to ſeem to refuſe " heaven's kind offer, and to oppoſe the will of " God, he was determined to take upon him the " government of the kingdom of France, which " had devolved to him by the death of his uncle " Charles the fair, promiſing his protection to all

 " thoſe

by a letter which he wrote to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the 21ſt. of February 1340, that he felt the redicule of having taken this title, and was afraid his parliament would not approve of ſuch an uſurpation: " Let not any one be ſurpriſed ſays he, that " we have changed our uſual ſtyle, and that we have nominated " ourſelves king of France, eſſential reaſons have neceſſarily o- " bliged us to take this meaſure; we will repreſent them to Ibid. pars. 4. pag. 69. | " you, to the other prelates, and to the lords and | " commons in the next aſſembled parliament." Non mirantes ex hoc quod ſtilum noſtrum conſuetum mutavimus, & Regem Franciæ nos facimus nominari; nam diverſæ ſubſunt cauſæ per quas hoc facere neceſſario nos oportet, & quas vobis & aliis prælatis & Magnatibus, necnon communitatibus ejuſdem regni Angliæ, ad dictum Parliamentum plenius exponemus &c.

" thoſe who ſhould follow the example of the " Flemiſh, and acknowledge him for their ſove- " reign."

This is the æra of joining the flower de luces and leopards together; it muſt be obſerved that Edward ſtiled himſelf king of France, England and Ireland, that he placed the flower de luces, in the firſt and fourth quarters, which are the moſt honourable, (5) and that all his ſucceſſors have continued to quarter in the ſame manner until George the firſt elector of Hanover. I do not know whether this prince at his acceſſion to the throne of England, declared that he would not reſide at Paris, but this is certain that he was the firſt who began to quarter the firſt and fourth part, in the firſt with England, in the ſecond with Scotland, in the ſecond with France, in the third with Ireland.

Many German princes, the duke of Brabant, the earls of Holland, Zeland, Gueldre, Hainaut, Juliers, and Limbourg, and in general all the lords of the Netherlands brought troops to Edward; his money and the title of vicar of the empire, which he had obtained from the emperor, Lewis of Bavaria made them take to his party; He began

(5) Queen Anne ſtill continued to bear the ſame arms until her death; altho' it's ſaid that the great ſeal of England, was reſolved to be changed, in the year 1706; at the time of the union of that kingdom with Scotland.

began the war by the ſiege of Cambray, which he was obliged to raiſe. He advanced towards St. Quintin; The Continuator of Nangis ſays, that both armies were oppoſite to each other, on Friday the 22d of October 1339; that ours having made a march of five leagues, it was judged expedient to let the ſoldiers reſt; that Edward took the advantage of the night to decamp, and to withdraw himſelf to Hainaut. Froiſſart (6) pretends that they reciprocally defied each other, and that they agreed on a certain day to give battle; the day being come Philip would not ſtir from his camp; becauſe his council repreſented to him, that the king of England by loſing a battle in picardy, only expoſed his men and run the hazard of being obliged to retire to ſome towns in Flanders; whereas if he won it, he might carry fire and ſword into the very heart of the kingdom. In whatever manner this thing happened it's very certain, that Edward entered again into the countries of his allies, that the campaign was ended in Flanders; that in Gaſcony, they deprived him of Bourg, Blaye, and ſome other places; that our fleet beat his, took two of his largeſt ſhips and many others of leſs note

(6) He was of Valenciennes; the queen of England, daughter of the earl of Hainaut, and Edward her huſband honoured him with their countenance. He was not ungrateful, his propenſity for the Engliſh ſhews itſelf on every occaſion.

note, that deſcents were made upon the coaſts of England, and that Hampton court, Portſmouth, and the iſland of Guerneſey, were plundered.

Fortune was more favourable to him at the beginning of the enſuing campaign. * our fleet remained over againſt a ſluice to hinder him from paſſing again into Flanders; we had more ſhips than he, but his were manned with the beſt of his troops, beſides the jealouſy which prevailed between Quieret and Bahuchet, our two admirals led them continually to oppoſe each other in all their plans of operation. Edward having gained the advantage of the wind, and placing the ſun directly in their eyes, they flung their grappling-irons and hooked each other, then they began to fight as if they had been upon dry land; the ſlaughter was terrible; Quieret was killed; Edward had his thigh pierced by an arrow; it was about five o'clock in the evening, and the action had laſted from eight in the morning. Victory began to declare herſelf in our favour, when a Flemiſh ſquadron appeared which drew up by Edward's ſide and occaſioned him to win the battle. He gave orders with a view to inſult Philip, as the continuator of Nangis ſays, † that admiral Bahuchet ſhould be hanged on the main-maſt of his

* Anno 1340. † Nangii continuat.

his ſhip. Is it neceſſary then, that in the annals of England no triumph can be exhibited, which is not ſtained at the ſame time with ſome barbarous action?

Conqueror of the ſeas, and at the head of a hundred and fifty thouſand men in Flanders, Edward fed himſelf with the hopes of a glorious campaign. He detatched one third of his army under the command of Robert d'Artois, who penetrated as far as St. Omers, and ravaged the frontiers for near a month. Eudes IV. duke of Burgundy having at laſt aſſembled troops, tho' much inferior in number to the others, attacked Robert d'Artois, beat him, killed nine or ten thouſand of his men, and purſued him as far as Montcaſſel.

This check augmented the perplexity of the Engliſh monarch; he had undertaken the ſiege of Tournay, not one of his attacks was attended with ſucceſs, the beſieged having always made a moſt rigorous reſiſtance: our army which was encamped about two leagues from his, harraſſed him continually, beat all his detachments and cut off his proviſions; he ſent to Philip to propoſe deciding their quarrel by ſingle combat, by a hundred againſt a hundred, or by a general battle: the direction of the letter was *to Philip de Valois*, without any other addition. Philip wrote back;

"A

"A letter has been brought to our camp addreſſed "to Philip de Valois; as it is not to us * we "don't ſend an anſwer; but we avail ourſelves "of the opportunity of your herald to inform you, "that you are our vaſſal; that in attacking us "and raiſing the cities of Flanders againſt their "earl, and againſt us their ſovereign and your's, "you are guilty of rebellion, perjury and felony, "and we hope by the help of God to humble and "puniſh you." Some hiſtorians, and amongſt others are Daniel and Choiſi, have rediculouſly wanted to embelliſh this anſwer; "Philip, (ſay "they) added that in the duel propoſed, the riſk "muſt be equally on each ſide, and that he ac- "cepted the challenge if Edward would ſtake "the kingdom of England, againſt that of "France." My reflections on this challenge are as follows: Edward had not yet conquered an inch of ground in this kingdom; he found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſhamefully raiſing the ſiege of Tournay; ‡ convoys could not reach his camp but with great difficulty; he wanted money to pay his troops; they murmured: beſides he was not ignorant that ſome of his allies, beginning to think unfavourable of the conſequences of the war, were meditating to break off from the league, they were actually treating in private with

* Rhymer acta publica T. ii. pars. 4. pag. 80.

‡ Rapin de Thoyras Vol. iii. p. 183.

with Philip; it was in theſe circumſtances that he ſent to challenge him; he knew very well, that this prince was too diſcreet, to expoſe a crown which he poſſeſſed for upwards of twelve years, to the uncertainty of a duel; now what name can be given to a man who ſends a challenge to another, when he is intimately perſuaded that the perſon to whom it is ſent, will not be fooliſh or weak enough to accept it? Let me add, that this challenge was in the year 1340; that in the year 1347, when the unfortunate battle of Creci, the almoſt certain taking of Calais, and the fire of rebellion in many provinces, ſeemed to prognoſticate eaſy conqueſts to Edward in this kingdom, Philip propoſed to fight with him ſix againſt ſix, to decide to whom every thing ſhould belong; he rejected the propoſal: * in the year 1340 he was a great Braggadochio, what was he in the year 1347? †

Let us return to his ſituation before Tournay, and ſee after what manner he got out of it. Jane de Valois counteſs dowager of Hainault his mother-in-law and ſiſter to Philip, had taken the vail after her huſband's death in the abbey of Fontenelles; he cunningly inſinuated to her, that peace was now at no great diſtance, and that it would be meritorious in her to be the inſtrument of

* Ibid p. 203. † A collection of challenges.

of bringing it about, between two princes whom ſhe ought to love dearly. The good princeſs quitted her convent, and repaired directly to her brother's camp, went the day following to that of her ſon-in-law, and admoniſhed each of them in a very chriſtian manner. Philip to whom an oppourtunity of cruſhing his enemy always preſented itſelf, but who yet never knew to avail himſelf of that advantage, conſented to a truce of ten months, which was afterwards prolonged to two years. The Engliſh monarch did not fail to break it as ſoon as there appeared a favourable conjuncture for renewing the war.

John III, duke of Britanny died without iſſue in 1341; the Dutchy belonged to Jane de Penthievre, wife of Charles of Blois; John earl of Montfort conteſted the property with her, and came privately to London to ſupport himſelf by a protector in his unjuſt pretenſions. Robert d'Artois (7) who breathed nothing but hatred and revenge,

(7) Robert d'Artois was a prince of the blood, and brother-in-law to Philip de Valois to whom he had done ſignal ſervices. They quarrelled concerning the proceſs for the county of Artois: Robert diſhonoured himſelf by forging and producing falſe titles; in ſpite of that however, his courage, his underſtanding, the moſt engaging figure and his misfortunes, intereſted people in his favour, and no one could pardon Philip for having purſued him every where, without ſuffering him to have an azylum in any country. The earl of Montfort was alſo of the houſe of France; Philip protected Charles of Blois.

after having conferred with him went to find Edward; the moment is at laſt come ſays he, for wreſting the crown from Philip; the earl of Montfort is here; he can deliver up to you ports and cities in Britanny; theſe ports and cities will ſerve you as places of arms, and will open to you the entrance into Maine and Anjou, you are already maſter of Guyenne and Ponthieu, which have always ſupplied you with good ſoldiers; Geoffrey d'Harcourt ſo powerful in Normandy on account of his lands, relations and friends, has promiſed you that he will raiſe that province in your behalf, the inſtant you appear there; the ſpirit of rebellion will quickly communicate itſelf to the other parts of the kingdom; where the people groan under a load of taxes; Philip has diſpleaſed his nobility by not attending to the remonſtrances they made to him, upon the uſurpations of the clergy: he wanted to treat the biſhops tenderly, and he has rendered them proud and ungrateful: (8) the leaſt check would be ſufficient to ſhake his throne. What Robert d'Artois ſaid happened unfortunatly to be too true. Edward promiſed ſuccours to the earl of Montfort, who acknowledged him king of France, and paid him homage as ſuch.

The

Daniel. | (8) Robert d'Artois was miſtaken; 'tis true, they would not pay the tenths but they gave Philip the ſurLe Gendre. | name of *Good Catholick*.

The Engliſh troops who landed in Britanny, gathered no laurels there; ſome Lords of that province being at the head of their peaſants whom they armed, retook by ſtorm the city of Vannes, of which Robert d'Artois had made himſelf maſter; the Engliſh garriſon was cut to pieces; Robert d'Artois being dangerouſly wounded fled to Hennebond, where he embarked to return to England: but died of his wound in the voyage.

Edward vowed that he would revenge his death in ſuch a terrible maner, that the Bretons ſhould remember it for ever. He went himſelf to Morbian, * and thought to throw terror on the country by giving himſelf out as a conqueror, whoſe troops were numerous enough to attack three cities all at once: he beſieged Vannes, Nants, and Rennes. The country however was not at all afraid of him; for time out of mind, they had entertained a very low opinion of the valour of the Engliſh; † Edward was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Nannes and Nants; he hoped at leaſt that he ſhould ſucceed in that of Vannes, by bringing all his forces before it; he was miſtaken, the duke of Normandy ‡ arrived with fifty thouſand men, and encamped over againſt him: "The "two armies, (ſays Rapin de Thoyras) remain-"ed during great part of the winter at a ſmall "diſtance

* Near Vannes. † Larrey. ‡ Since king John.

" diſtance the one from the other, but well " intrenched, without it's appearing that either " of the two chiefs had any deſire to fight; Ed- " ward was not diſpoſed to riſk a battle againſt " an army that was much ſtronger than his own, " and the duke of Normandy would not run any " hazard, hoping to ſtarve the enemy." He would have ſtarved them in fact, and obliged them to ſurrender at diſcretion; our fleet after having chaced that of the Engliſh from Morbian, kept at ſea and took or ſunk all the convoys that arrived from England; Edward was ſtill more embarraſſed than when he was before Tournay. In the beginning of January two legates from the holy ſee arrived at the duke of Normandy's camp, and negotiated a truce for three years. The whole nation murmured againſt the government, and diſguſt and contempt began to ſucceed in the hearts of the nobility to that glorious zeal, with which they had till then, laviſhed their blood and fortunes to terminate the war.

* Philip gave a Tournament on account of the marriage of his ſecond ſon; all the nobles of France and thoſe of the adjacent kingdoms, were invited to it according to cuſtom, and with the uſual ceremonies: this invitation ſerved for a general ſafeguard. In the middle of the feaſt, he ordered

* In 1344.

ordered Oliver de Cliſſon (1) with thirteen other Lords of Britanny to be arreſted; and they were beheaded a few days after at the *Halles* in Paris. It * is true they had always been partizanes, and ſtill appeared to be ſuch of Charles de Blois. It † is averred by ſome that they had held a ſecret correſpondence with Edward and the Earl of Montford, and that the beautiful counteſs of Salisbury's huſband ſeeking to be revenged of the king of England, and knowing the intrigues that were carrying on between him and thoſe gentlemen, as well as ſeveral other Normans, informed the king of France of their proceedings, and even pointed out to him the means of intercepting their letters. I acknowledge that Philip in having them executed without bringing them to trial, acted more like a tyrant than a king; but muſt not Edward have been guilty of the moſt barbarous breach of faith, in wanting, by what he called *repriſals*, to cut off the heads of the French priſoners who remained in England ſince the truce unable to pay their ranſom? ‡ The Engliſh hiſtorians, at the ſame time that they acknowledge he was upon the point of comitting this barbarous deed, if Henry of Lancaſter had not by his prayers and remonſtrances prevented him, endeavour to

(1) Tatler to the Conſtable. * See *Froiſſart* and *Darguſtre*.
† See Larrey. ‡ Vide Rapin de Thoyras p. 194.

to excuſe him, and urge ſuch reaſons as are neceſſary to be refuted in order to diſcover which of the two kings firſt broke the truce. Theſe hiſtorians agree, that Edward * "would have had "reaſon for making ſuch a buſtle on account of "the execution of the Lords of Brittanny, if "they had been only his ſecret partiſanes; but "ſay they, he writes poſitively in the complaints "which he made to the Pope, that they were "his adherents, and that they had been ſeized in "Brittany; now the allies on both ſides were in-"cluded in the truce; Philip therefore violated "it the firſt, by ordering theſe Lords to be ſeiz-"ed in Brittanny, or in the midſt of the Tour-"nament." I might at once reply, that theſe hiſtorians agree in Edward's ‡ having often advanced falſities in his manifeſtoes againſt the Scotch; that he was not a whit more tenatious of the truth in his declamations againſt Philip; and further, that in his complaints to the Pope, he does not ſpecify whether theſe Lords of Britanny were his *ſecret* or *declared* ‖ adherents: it is certain that they were partizans of Charles de Blois, at the time of the truce taking place, and that it was ſtipulated by one of the Articles of this truce, § "that

* Ibid. p. 193 and 505. ‡ Ibid p. 456. ‖ Larrey.

§ Vide, The Collection of Treaties by Du Tillet. Henry de Maleſtroit one of thoſe Breton gentlemen, was at that time maſter

" that neither of the two kings ſhould treat either " by word or writing, with the ſubjects of the " other, nor ſhould endeavour to ſuborn them." Edward therefore, could not openly correſpond with theſe Breton Lords; and by treating ſecretly with them, and with ſome Norman gentlemen, he had infringed the truce: his intended repriſals upon the French priſoners, would therefore have been ſo many aſſaſſinations, and conſequently he proved himſelf by the iſſue to be the moſt iniquitous of men, " By declaring war " againſt Philip, under pretence that he had vio- " lated the truce by his ſhameful behaviour to- " wards the Lords of Bretagne." *

Geoffry of Harcourt ‡ having ſuſpicion that the perfidious plots which he had been concerting for ſome years in Normandy were diſcovered, fled to London for refuge; he adviſed the Engliſh monarch to act in ſuch a manner, as if he deſigned

maſter of Requents of the *Hotel*; could he enjoy this office under Philip and at the ſame time be one of Edwards open adherents? Larrey's hiſtory of Paris vol. i. p. 197.

* Larrey's Rapin vol. iii. p. 193 and 194.

‡ When he ſaw the body of the Count d'Harcourt his brother, and thoſe of many other French Lords his relations and friends ſlain upon the field of battle at Creci, he was ſeized with remorſe, and quitting Edward's victorious army all alone, and without taking notice to any about him, he came to Philip's camp, with a rope round his neck, and threw himſelf at the feet of his natural ſovereign who pardoned him.

ſigned to make the formidable attack on the ſide of Guyenne: I have ſaid he, been in favour with Philip: I ought to know him; he never foreca ſts any thing, and never acts but when neceſſity compels him: he confines his attention entirely to that part where his enemy ſeems to be deſtined, and never conſiders whether it is poſſible he may come: threaten the neighbouring provinces of Gaſcony, but fall in reality upon Normandy: this province offers you large cities, moſtly diſmantled; a rich plentiful country quite open, and which the ravages of war have not affected for upwards of a century: you may load your ſhips with an immenſe booty; you will ſpread terror to the very gates of Paris, before Philip will be able to collect force ſufficient to oppoſe you.

Edward took this advice, Henry of Lancaſter Earl of Derby, whom he ſent into Guyenne, drew off all Philip's attention that way by the conqueſt of Bergerac, Angouleine and ſome other places. Prince John aſſembled our army between Orleans and Tours: he invited all the nobility to follow him; France, ſaid he, will never be quiet, whilſt the Engliſh keep any poſſeſſions there; as heir to the throne, I can't have a more favourable opportunity of making myſelf known to the people, that I am one day to govern, than by driving entirely out of the king-

dom, an enemy whoſe turbulent pride animates rebellion. The meaſures he took muſt neceſſarily have been applauded, if the circumſtances had been different: he ſhould have conſidered that there had been revolts in various provinces; that amongſt the nobility, thoſe who were really attached to the glory of the ſtate would certainly follow him; but that the malecontents would remain upon their lands, and that the puniſhment inflicted upon ſome gentlemen, particularly in Normandy, had more irritated than terrified their relations and friends.

At the approach of our army the Earl of Derby ſhut himſelf up in Bourdeaux: moſt of the fortreſſes and places which he had ſeized were retaken, and the ſiege of Aiguillon was begun. Several Engliſh and Gaſcon knights diſtinguiſhed by their courage and experience, had thrown themſelves into that caſtle: it was furniſhed with proviſions in great plenty, and it's ſituation at the conflux of the Gaſcony and the Lot rendered it very ſtrong. Edward who was perſuaded that this place would not ſoon give out, continued his armaments and omitted nothing that might corroborate the belief, that his object was to ſuccour Gaſcony, or to make a diverſion upon the coaſts of Poitou. He ſet out from Southampton on the ſecond of July 1346, ſeeming to direct his courſe

courſe towards Bourdeaux: advice was ſoon received that he had made a deſcent at la Hogue in Contentin; he pillaged, burnt and ſacked Valogne, S. Lo, Carentan, Harfleur, Cherbourg, Caën paſſed under the walls of Rouen, went up the Seine as far as Poiſſi, and ſent a herald to offer Philip battle; but ſays Mezeray, he behaved in the ſame manner as the wolf, who *after having made the greateſt ſlaughter amongſt the flock, hearing the maſtiffs bark, thinks of nothing but ſheltering himſelf in the woods:* he made a precipitate retreat, attempting nothing but his eſcape, ſo ſoon as he underſtood that Philip had aſſembled a ſufficient number of troops to take the field. The pleaſure which the Engliſh hiſtorians take in recounting the evils which then befell France, engages them in a very circumſtantial detail of the victories of their famous Edward. Was this prince a Hero? was he aught but a Tartar, hunting after blood and ſpoils? Let the reader judge: after having ranſacked Caen, he expeditiouſly loaded, ſay they, his largeſt ſhip with all the merchandize and riches he had found in this and other cities, and ſent them off for England: he did not ſtop before thoſe places that could defend themſelves; he continued his route through open cities and villages, * giving them up to the

* Vide acta publica T. ii. part. 4. pag. 205.

fury of his troops, and reducing them to aſhes: from the top of Notre Dame might be ſeen, add they, the royal caſtle of Poiſſi, that of S. Germain en-laye, and the villages of Ruel, Nanterre, and Neuilli, all in a blaze. It ſhould be obſerved, that theſe hiſtorians always perſevered in ſaying, "That this was to revenge the death of "the gentlemen of Bretagne: ——— What a "pretext for war! what revenge!

Edward made very expeditious marches: his deſign was to traverſe Picardy, and to ſhelter himſelf in ſome fortified place in Flanders: he found himſelf greatly embarraſſed upon the banks of the Somme: he attempted to croſs it at Pequigne and at Pontderemi: he was vigorouſly repulſed at both the paſſes. * "At laſt he was ſo happy as "to diſcover the Ford of Blanchetaque by means "of a priſoner, who was perfectly acquainted "with the country. Though this diſcovery "ſeemed at firſt a great advantage, he quickly "found the difficulties of his retreat were not "much leſſened. Philip foreſeeing the enemy "might take that route to retire, detached Gon-"demar du Fay with a body of 12,000 men to "guard that ford, on which depended the ſucceſs "of his deſigns. Edward who ſaw himſelf there-"fore under a neceſſity either of forcing the paſ-

"ſage

* Pag. 197.

" ſage, or fighting with great diſadvantage his " enemy, who was cloſley purſuing him. Being " come to a reſolution, he ordered his troops to " advance, who being animated by the preſence " of their king, caſt themſelves into the river with " ſuch intrepidity that they began to vanquiſh " their enemies before they came to the charge. " The French he adds, after ſome endeavours to " repulſe the Engliſh, were obliged to abandon " that important paſſage."

This relation deſerves to be particularly conſidered, more eſpecially as it is copied after Daniel and Choiſi. How happened it that the Engliſh who were thus *animated by the preſence of their king*, were repulſed at Pequigne and Pontderemi, where our forces were leſs numerous than at Blanquetague? Beſides this ford at Blanquetague was only paſſable about two hours at low water: it was impracticable to have filed off above 15 men in front; how could Edward expect that 12,000 French would immediately take to flight? why was he not afraid, that our army who followed cloſe upon their heels might come up with them, and cut all thoſe to pieces who had not yet forded the river? Rapin de Thoyras did not think proper to make theſe reflections; but is it not ſhameful that our hiſtorians have omitted them, and that they have neglected

to relate that Philip declared "He had for ſome "time been inceſſantly betrayed on every ſide." Mezeray gives us to underſtand, that Gondemar du Fay was a relation * of Geoffrey of Harcourt, and that he had ſold himſelf to the Engliſh.

The tide was beginning to come up, when our vanguard arrived at Blanquetaque: we then found ſeveral waggons and 3 or 400 men, who had not yet been able to croſs the river: it would have been natural to have conſidered thoſe men as aſſaſſins and incendiaries: but we looked upon them only as enemies, who in laying down their arms begged their lives, which was granted them. The next day Auguſt 26, we paſſed the Somme over the bridge at Abbeville; it was exceſſive hot and a ſtorm ſuceeded ſoon after: it it was three o'clock in the afternoon when we came within ſight of Edward's camp. He had taken his reſolution the night before: finding there were no hopes of eſcaping us or * avoiding a battle, he had choſen an advantageous ground, and was poſted upon a hill near the village of Creci: * a thick foreſt which covered the left wing rear of his army, formed with the entrenchments he made on his right, a kind of Creſcent: his men at arms occupied the center, his infantry and bow-men were upon the front of the wings:

It

* The battle of Creci.

They have told me they believed, that in the reign of Henry II. the parliament having publiſhed an arret, whereby all games of chance were prohibited, the great council thought of this method of play, to ſhew that they did not recognize the arrets of the parliament, and that they were not obliged to conform to them. This reaſon did not ſatisfy me, nor will it, I believe, ſatisfy any one; for after all, the uſual effects of play, are at leaſt as dangerous as the diſorders that may be occaſioned by places of public proſtitution: now, it is not above two hundred years ſince ſuch places were tolerated and protected by the laws, at court, in Paris, and in all the great cities of the kingdom; if the parliament had publiſhed, and poſted up an arret to aboliſh them, ſurely ſuch reſpectable judges as thoſe of the great council, would not have attempted to preſerve one in the heart of the palace, where they adminiſtered juſtice; they would not have made a point of going thither upon particular days. My notion of this matter is, that our kings had fools who were appointed, and upon the eſtabliſh-

ment

ment of the houſhold; the provoſts of the houſhold were their counſel, and they had a right of appeal to the grand council; theſe fools, either to amuſe themſelves, or to divert other people, or, perhaps, for other reaſons, carried on ſuits, the pleadings whereof were probably poſtponed till the time of Carnival, in the ſame manner as cauſes were then, and ſtill are, pleaded on *Shrove Tueſday*, at the Chatelet, and in parliament. The preſident of the great council, after having heard the counſel on both ſides, called for a box and dice, to determine thereby diſputes uſually ſo ridiculous. Such is my conjecture upon this head; I acknowledge, at the ſame time, that I have no authority to ſupport it.

Faits

Place this between Page 102, and 103, in Vol. III

It was repreſented to Philip that after a march of five leagues, which the heat of the ſun and the ſtorm had rendered very fatiguing, our troops muſt neceſſarily be tired and harraſſed; that it behoved him therefore to let them reſt till the next day, and not to engage precipitately with an enemy who was freſh, advantageouſly poſted, and to whom deſpair and the neceſſity of conquering gave aditional courage. The impetuous Count d'Alencon * treated this advice with contempt: the attack was ordered; 12,000 Genoeſe archers formed our firſt line: 'tis ſaid, that having neglected during their march to cover the ſtrings of their bows, they were ſo wet as to be unfit for ſervice, and that † *harraſſed and diſconfitted by the arrows which the Engliſh archers diſcharged, and which fell upon them like ſhowers of hail, they gave way* and fell both upon our ſecond line. Nothing elſe could be done than to open and let them paſs: but the neceſſary movements were not eaſily to be made upon every narrow ground, ‡ "Where ſo many lords, kings, "counts, dukes and French barons, with their "banniers did not come in a regular manner, "but in diſorder and confuſion preſſing one be-"fore the other:" Philip no doubt ſuſpected the

* Brother to Philip of Valois. † Froiſſart.

‡ The king of Bohemia and his ſon the king of the Romans.

Genoeſe of treachery, for he cried out, *put thoſe* vagabonds *to death directly who ſtop up our way.* The Count d'Alencon immediately endeavoured to execute this order, whereby he broke his own line, and was killed in making fruitleſs attempts to reſtore it. The prince of Wales availed himſelf of this critical inſtant, and did not find much difficulty in compleating the diſorder of the Count d'Alencons corps. At the time that Philip advanced to ſupport it, ſix pieces of cannon which Edward had placed upon the ſummit of the hill began to play: "Theſe thunderbolts, which "the Engliſh (ſays Rapin de * Thoyras) began "for the firſt time to uſe, and which were yet "unheard of in France, did great execution a-"mongſt the French troops, and ſtruck them "with ſuch terror that the ſucceſs of the day is "partly aſcribed to the ſurprize of the French at "this novelty!" † The Earls of Northampton and Arundel, who commanded the enemy's ſecond line, ſeeing that we broke in upon the left of their firſt line, and that we began impetuouſly to purſue them, made a movement which the night favoured, and which enabled them to take us in flank. Philip though a bad general, fought like a ſoldier: he received two wounds, one in his throat and the other in his thigh; his horſe was killed under him; and ſhouts were heard on every

* Pag. 200. † Larrey.

every ſide, *ſave the king:* this outcry, confuſed or ill delivered orders, the fire and noiſe of the cannon, which darkneſs rendered ſtill more terrible, to thoſe who were unprepared for them all increaſed the carnage: each fled thinking the reſt were alſo flying; Philip was carried off the field of battle againſt his will by the Count d'Hainaut———for there he wanted to reſign his life.

So many ſhocking acts committed by the Engliſh in the very heart of the kingdom, had inſpired him with ſuch a thirſt of revenge as blinded him: the miſtakes he committed that day are inconceivable, he might have ſhut Edward up in his camp, and made him periſh by famine, or compelled him to ſurrender at diſcretion in a few days; he wanted a bloody victory; it eſcaped him by his own imprudence: he attacked with troops fatigued and enfeebled, an enemy well entrenched, and who were perſuaded they deſerved no quarter; and therefore had no other way to eſcape death and ſave their booty, but by a courageous defence. Prince John had taken with him the flower of our troops into Guyenne: the army that fought at Crecy collected in a hurry, was numerous as to men, but weak as to ſoldiers; we had at our head three

* kings,

* Philip, John king of Bohemia and Charles his ſon, king of

kings, many princes and lords, and not one general; beſides the only place at which we could attack the Engliſh was narrow and might have been eaſily diſputed by a front of ſmall extent! ſo that the ſuperiority of our number became uſeleſs. †

Froiſſart relates that an officer came to Edward, and told him, the prince of Wales was greatly preſſed by us, and that he ſtood in need of ſuccour; that Edward aſked whether he was taken or wounded; that the officer having replied neither, he anſwered, "Go back and tell him "and my generals, that as long as my ſon is "alive, they ſend no more to me, for the honour "of this day ſhall be his, and the boy muſt new "gain his ſpurs. § (The ‖ Engliſh hiſtorians ſay,) "that if their army had been worſted, all would "have been loſt without reſource, Philip having "reſolved

the Romans: Philip and Charles were wounded. The king of Bohemia 80 years old and blind, having cauſed his horſes bridle to be tied to thoſe of two of his knights, was conducted into the thick of the battle, where ignorantly fighting, he and his two knights were ſlain: Their bodies were found the next day near that of their king, and their horſes ſtill tied together.

† It is ſaid, that our army conſiſted of 80,000 men, and that Edward's was but half that number.

§ That is to ſay, deſerving to be knighted: knights were created before and after battles. The prince of Wales was only ſixteen years old.

‖ Rapin de Thoyras, vol. iii. p. 489.

"reſolved to put them all to the ſword without "mercy; Bame, * (they add,) judiciouſly "avails himſelf of this circumſtance to juſtify "Edward's conduct, who kept at a diſtance "during the whole action." Let us ſuppoſe ourſelves in thoſe times, and conſider that kings frequently ſent challenges to each other; that Edward had ſent ſeveral to Philip, the uſual tenor of which was, "That there was nothing he "wiſhed for ſo much as to meet him at ſingle "combat, or to find him perſonally in the heat "of battle;" *perhaps* we ſhall find, that Philip charging at the head of his troops, wounded, and having two horſes killed under him; made as good a figure, even in adverſity, as the Engliſh monarch on the top of a hill, diſtant from danger, repoſing himſelf upon the ſucceſs of his arms, upon the ſurprize which his cannon † breathed

* One of Edward's panegyriſts, Rapin de Thoyras, p. 199.

In 1330. a monk of the order of St. Auguſtin who was a great alchemiſt, having in his mortar a mixture of Sulphur and ſaltpetre, a ſpark of fire accidentally falling into it ſet it on fire, and an exploſion of all the matter enſued. This event greatly exciting his admiration, he ſought the reaſon which he found to be very natural, ariſing from the hot dry quality of the ſulphur, and the cold humidity of the ſaltpetre: to which adding a ſmall quantity of pounded charcoal ready to ſtrike fire he produced this invention ſo deſtructive to mankind: afterwards perceiving the vehement effect of the fire when incloſed

forcing

amongſt us, and coming upon the field of battle only to receive the compliments upon the victory.

We have ſeen that the object of his deſcent at la Hogue, was only to make inverſions to carry off booty, and to ranſack the country: his victory gave him the idea of conqueſt. He conſidered that Calais being upon the neareſt coaſt towards England, would ſecure him for the future an eaſy and quick entrance into the heart of France, if he could make himſelf maſter of it: he therefore laid ſiege to it on the 8th of September 1346. His firſt attacks were repulſed with ſo much courage, and ſuch vigorous ſallies were made upon him, that he ſoon loſt all hope of reducing that place by force, notwithſtanding the ſuccours which the Marquis de Juliers, and the Count de Namur, brought him of 30,000 Germans and Flemiſh. He came to a reſolution of ſurrounding his camp with lines of contrevallation and circumvallation, with redouts and places for arms

forcing its way with violence, he made a trial of it in a ſmall tube charged with his powder, and then communicated his ſecret. Vide the Treatiſe upon Artillery by Diego Tiloſio. In 1338 we began to make uſe of two or three cannons at the attack of ſome caſtles, bnt they were only employed for the demolition of turrets. The French knights would have conſidered it as a great meanneſs, to have uſed them againſt men that were expoſed, and ranged before them in order of battle.

arms at proper diſtances : his fleet blocked up the port, aud he had no other deſign than to wait patiently till ſuch time as a ſcarcity of proviſions ſhould compel the governor to capitulate.

A few days after the battle of Creci, Philip wrote to prince John to quit the ſiege of Aiguillon, and to come and join him with his army ; the Earl of Derby now found himſelf maſter of Guyenne; he ravaged Saintonge, Angoumois, Poitou, took Xaintes, Poitiers, Niort, and St. Jean d'Angeli. The towns of Flanders continued their revolt, and furniſhed Edward with troops. Several gentlemen of Britanny, friends and relations of thoſe who were beheaded at Paris, joined the earl of Monfort's party, and of courſe the Engliſh. Charles de Blois was vanquiſhed and taken priſoner at the battle of Rochederein. Scarce a week paſſed without intelligence being received of freſh inſurrections in the other provinces. The Frenchman tho' ever ready to ſacrifice his fortune for the glory of the State, does not begin to mutiny about taxes till they are the moſt neceſſary to be raiſed : ill ſucceſs makes the weight inſupportable to him. Whilſt our beſt officers were diſcouraged, it ſhould ſeem that heaven took delight in producing heroines againſt us. The queen of England put herſelf at the head of a body of troops, and defeated the king

king of Scotland our ally. The counteſs of Montfort was ſeen more than once upon the breach, animating the ſoldiers, and repulſing the beſſiegers who found a grave in thoſe very ditches they had juſt gained poſſeſſion of. Cliſſon's widow one of the fineſt women in Europe, ſold her jewels, mortgaged her lands, purchaſed ſhips, ſcoured the Seas, boarded the enemy ſword in hand, and avenged the death of her huſband upon every French ſhip ſhe met with.

The fidelity of the inhabitants of Calais ſtruggled with the horrors of the moſt ſhocking famine: they were blockaded upwards of nine months; our army approached to ſuccour them. Edward's intrenchments were reconnoitered on every ſide, and were found to be unattackable. It was now that Philip ſent him various challanges; he always anſwered, "He was there to take Calais and not to fight a duel." I ſhould not have ſuſpected this prudence of his, if it *were not certain that a cruel man is ſeldom brave.* * Philip decamped at the end of ſix weeks, finding that he could not provoke his enemy to any ſort of combat, and that it was abſolutely impoſſible to force his lines. The beſieged having now no further hopes of ſuccour

* We ſhall ſee preſently, that they are found to accept the challenge which king John gave to fight him body to body in the liſts.

ſuccour aſked to capitulate. They certainly were brave men, where reſolution and fidelity ſhould be admired and reſpected by every generous ſpirit: Edward declared he would grant them no terms, and that he muſt be maſter of their lives. His deſign was to hang a conſiderable number, and put the reſt to the ſword: his character was too well known for any doubt to remain concerning this. Two legates from the holy ſee, together with Gautier de Mauny repreſenting to him, that he would make himſelf odious to all Europe; that the French would then have a right to make repriſals upon all the priſoners who ſhould hereafter fall into their hands; that if he was incapable of being touched with pity for a ſuppliant enemy, he ſhould have ſome conſideration for thoſe who ſerved himſelf and not expoſe them to the hazard of periſhing one day under the hands of an executioner. He was a long time inflexible: but at length conſented to receive the garriſon priſoners of war, and to promiſe the inhabitants their lives upon condition that they quitted the city without carrying away any of their effects, and that they would previouſly pitch upon ſix of their fellow citizens, who ſhould be delivered up to him to be changed: we ſee he could not treat them more inhumanly, without having put them all to death, and this was his original

original deſign. When the governor had convened the citizens, and communicated theſe cruel terms, the general cry was that it was better to periſh arms in hand than to accept of them. Euſtache de S. Piere, one of the richeſt and moſt opulent citizens deſired to be heard: If it were poſſible for us ſaid he, to fight our enemy, he would not dare to ſhew himſelf thus cruel: wide intrenchments ſeparate us from him; before we could get through them, his ſoldiers being under cover of the forts they have erected, would have pierced us with their arrows, we ſhould be cruſhed with thoſe unknown thunder bolts which he is ſo daſtardly as to make uſe of: has the Frenchman then nothing but valour? a tender, generous, compaſſionate ſoul always diſtinguiſhes him: after having made vain efforts, what would become of our wives and children? ſhall we abandon them to Edward's fury? he aſks ſix victims, I offer myſelf for the firſt: can there be a death more worthy of us, than that which ſaves the lives of our relations, our friends, our countrymen? he had ſcarce finiſhed ſpeaking, e're five more offered themſelves with the moſt eager magnanimity. They appeared before Edward with a modeſt but firm countenance: The Engliſh monarch looked upon them and gave a ſignal to the executioner to ſeize them: three ſucceſſive

times

times he puſhed from him the queen his wife, who upon her knees implored their pardon: ſhe at length obtained it.

The conqueſt of Calais was followed by a truce; a ſcourge more dreadful than war itſelf, ſuſpended it's calamities. Hiſtorians relate that in the kingdom of Catay in Aſia, a globe of different colours was obſerved for ſeveral hours in the firmament: that in falling to the earth it burſt, and ſuch a ſtench iſſued from it, that it's malignity inſtantly ſpread a mortal contagion over all the country: that this vapour remounting and condenſing in the air, formed a cloud of venomous inſects which fell in ſhowers, and that the ſhocking plague whoſe ſeeds it contained, after having ravaged Aſia and Africa, extended it's baneful influence to Europe, where it ſwept away two thirds of the inhabitants in leſs than eighteen months. This calamity was preceeded by tremmendous earthquakes which were felt from South to North ſwallowing whole cities in the deep abyſſes which they formed.

Philip de Valois did not live to ſee the expiration of the term of the truce: he died at *Nogent-le-Roy*, Auguſt 22, 1350; aged 57 years. He had juſt taken for his ſecond wife a young princeſs of exquiſite beauty: it is ſaid the extatic tranſports of his

his new paſſion, digged his grave in the arms of Hymen.

John * II. his ſon ſucceeded to his throne: the truce between the two crowns was prolonged at different periods, till the year 1355. The plague and famine had not ſpared England any more than France. During this truce the ancient ſpirit of Chivalry was renewed, nothing was talked of but challenges and duels, wherein the Engliſh according to all their own hiſtorians, were but ſeldom ſucceſsful. One of the moſt celebrated rencounters was that of thirty Engliſh who oppoſed thirty gentlemen of *Bretagne*: they they met at the place of aſſignation near a large tree between Ploërmel and Joſſelin: a month had paſſed from the giving of their words and fixing upon the day. The Engliſh began to reflect, that ſuch a combat ſhould not take place without permiſſion obtained from the two kings, and accordingly propoſed deferring it till ſuch permiſſion could be had: the gentlemen of Bretagne thought † this reflection came a little too late, and aſſured them that it ſhould not be ſaid they had come upon the field of battle, *without ſhaking hands and knowing who had the handſomeſt miſtreſs*: They accordingly fought, and the event of war determined

* The reader is deſired to pay attention to the preface of this Volume. † Vide Daniel.

determined the French ladies to be the handſomeſt: half of the Engliſh were ſlain; the others fled in a cowardly manner or begged their lives. Theſe little combats produced ſome good; they awakened in the Frenchman's ſoul an eſteem for himſelf and his country, and an idea of ſuperiority over his enemies: they animated him to repair loſſes which he had ſuſtained only through treachery, or the imprudence of his generals. The peace of Avignon was all this while in agitation: the Pope was mediator: it ſeems Edward was not blinded by his ſucceſs, and indeed it would have been difficult for him to have diſowned, that at the ſieges of Tournay and Vannes, and afterwards at Creſſy, we had it in our power to have ſtarved him in his camp, and obliged him to ſurrender at diſcretion: we find that in the public acts of England, that he gives full powers to his ambaſſadors, to *renounce for him and his heirs, all pretenſions to the kingdom of France:* * it would have been ſhameful to have given up ſo fine a crown, if he had thought he had any right to it: but this he never believed: he had therefore waged an unjuſt war, and which moreover ought to have made him execrable in the

* Acta publica T. iii. pars. 1. p. 94. and 100. "Necnon "renunciandi omni juri quod habemus in & ad regnum ſive "coronam Franciæ." Rapin, vol. iii. p. 210.

the eyes of all Europe, by the barbarous manner in which he conducted it. The Engliſh hiſtorians ſay, "That king John after he had offered "him Guyenne and the counties of Artois and "Guiſnes to poſſeſs them in all ſovereignty, pre-"cipitately broke off the negotiation, and hurried "his people into freſh misfortunes." There is no proof in the public acts of England of ſuch an offer being made, it is a falſe ſuggeſtion: king John conſented, it is true to let Edward remain in poſſeſſion of Guyenne, and moreover to cede to him the counties of Artois and Guiſnes; but this was always upon condition of his paying homage to France, an homage that Edward himſelf had yielded for nine years together, and which all the kings his predeceſſors had done for their poſſeſſions in the kingdom. With regard to the freſh misfortunes which befell us, we ſhall preſently ſee that the courage of the Engliſh had very little ſhare in the advantages which they gained, and for which they were intirely indebted to the troubles which Charles the Bad king of Navarre, excited amongſt us. He was ſon to Philip Count d'Evreux a prince of the blood, and of Jane only daughter of Lewis Hutin; he ſprung therefore from both branches of the Houſe of France: never did a more worthleſs man exiſt: ſome months after having wedded king John's daughter

he

he attempted to aſſaſſinate him: the conſtable of France was mudered in his bed at his inſtigation: his gloomy ſoul, reſtleſs and turbulent, was conſtantly engendering ſchemes of diſturbance and confuſion: the career of glory had no charms for him; he took delight in the windings of dark and treacherous conſpiracies; and he was more particularly calculated to foment revolts, by being of an affable, courteous, liberal diſpoſition, uniting great courage with an extenſive underſtanding, and poſſeſſing a moſt elegant figure, which made his eloquence naturally powerful, become irreſiſtable. He poſſeſſed in *apanage*, or by exchange for ſucceſſions ſeveral cities in Normandy, where he more freqnently reſided than in his own kingdom: He had fortified them under various pretences, and garriſoned them with Navarre ſoldiers. Here the malecontents ſtandard was conſtantly flying, whilſt he inſinuated to the people who loved him in ſpite of his enemies, that being the ſon of the only daughter of Lewis Hutin, the crown belonged to him: doubtleſs if the diſtaff could communicate a right, his claim was better founded than Edward's: their ſecret correſpondence was ſuſpected for ſome time, gave reaſon to apprehend an union between them, in order to wreſt the kingdom from the legitimate heir, and divide it betwixt themſelves. Such was the

Criſis

Criſis we were then at. It favoured Edward's hopes; he broke the truce, landed at Calais, ravaged Artois, and advanced as far as Hedin. King John having aſſembled his troops ſent and offered him battle, or a duel body to body, in the liſts; but he accepted of neither: "This is "what the French hiſtorians relate, (ſays Rapin "de Thoyras) * but the Engliſh on the contrary "aver, that it was Edward who ſent the challenge, and that John refuſed it." There is a freſh inſtance of the perpetual falſity of this hiſtorian: Froiſart a cotemporary writer, was and ought to have been attached to the Engliſh monarch; he poſitively ſays, that he refuſed the challenge, and that he retired with great precipitation to Calais, from whence he returned into England. The aſſembly of the States granted a ſupply to increaſe our army with 30,000 men; the king of Navarre endeavoured by his emiſſaries which he he employed in all the cities, to ſpirit up the people to revolt on account of this tax, and to prevent it's being levied: king John being informed that he was at Rouen with only a few attendants, went thither ſecretly, ſurprized him at table, ſeized him and cauſed four of his zealous partizans, to be put to death before his face, brought him priſoner to Paris, and ſhut him up in the large tower of the Louvre. Upon the news of the detection of his brother,

* Vol. iii. p. 211.

brother, Philip of Navarre who was alſo in poſſeſſion of coſiderable lands in Normandy convened his friends, * excited part of that province to revolt, concluded a treaty with Edward, acknowledged him legitimate king of France, and ſoon ſaw the duke of Lancaſter arrive with 6,000 Engliſh. They marched into Perche, took Verneuil, and ſacked the flat country; but at the approach of our army, they retreated towards the foreſt of l'Aigle into woods and marches, from whence it was impoſſible to force them: king John left ſome troops to keep them within thoſe limits and marched againſt the prince of Wales who was advanced as far as Berri, and began to make great progreſs in his flight: the king followed him ſo cloſe as to cut off his retreat, which obliged him to intrench himſelf at Maupertuis two leagues from Poitiers, † upon very uneven ground, covered with vineyards, hedges and buſhes, and conſequently very delightful for our gendarmerie to approach, which at that time compoſed the greateſt ſtrength of the army: but if he could defend himſelf here with 12,000 men againſt 50,000, his deſtruction was not the leſs inevitable on account of the want of proviſions. This induced him to offer an indemnification

* Acta publica T. iii. pars. 1. p. 128.

† The battle of Poitiers.

nification for all the damage he had done in his march, to give up all the priſoners he had taken, and not to bear arms againſt France or her allies for ſeven years. It was natural to reject ſuch a propoſal, and to inſiſt upon his ſurrendering himſelf priſoner with his whole army; but it was folly to attempt forcing him in a poſt well intrenched, when he might have been compelled by famine to ſubmit in three days to all the terms that could have been impoſed, this was in vain repreſented by all the generals to king John: he looked upon theſe ſagacious remonſtrances as timid counſel, adding with all the diſdain of falſe and ridiculous courage, that he was aſhamed to conquer without fighting. He made all the Gendarmerie diſmount from their horſes, except 300 picked men who were to begin the attack. In order to come at the enemy, they were obliged to mount a defile, where only four could enter of abreaſt: this defile was lined with very thick quick ſet hedges, behind which a thouſand archers were poſted, who annoyed them with a ſhower of arrows diſcharged cloſe by them: thoſe who were not killed, wounded or diſmounted, and who could gain the end of the defile, were eaſily repulſed, which threw the Gend'Armerie who were to ſupport them into diſorder; and theſe being on foot with their heavy armour, could

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not rally faſt enough, to reſiſt the attack of the Engliſh Cuiraſſiers who purſued them. The prince of Wales perceiving the beginning of a route in our vanguard, immediately diſpatched 600 Cuiraſſiers along the ſide of the hill, who fell unperceived upon the rear of the Dauphin's Corps: the ſurprize was preſently communicated to the reſt of the army: the murmur became general: the orders of the commanders were anſwered with reproaches; Did they want, ſaid the men, by making us diſmount to deliver us up to the enemy? ſome flew; others went for their horſes and rallied, but with ſo little order, that all their efforts ſerved only to evince, that courage alone and the ſuperiority of numbers do not decide the fate of battle. King John received two wounds in his face, had his horſe killed under him and was taken priſoner.

The Engliſh hiſtorians put this victory in competition with any the moſt glorious the Romans ever gained: they compare the prince of Wales to Scipio and Cæſar: let the reader determine whether that prince deſerves theſe Elogiums: He ſet out from Bourdeaux in imitation of his father, to make the ravages of a Tartar; Rapin de Thoyras agrees, * that ſuch a ſudden irruption was not expected: he pillages, burns, and ſacks an open and defenceleſs country: as ſoon

* Vol. iii. p. 213.

as he learns that an army is on the march againſt him he flies: his retreat is cut off: he intrenches himſelf in an advantageous poſt: he is ready to accept of ſhameful terms: he offers not to carry arms againſt France for ſeven years, and to return all the booty he had taken: he is ruined if we do not even endeavour to give him battle: King John ſeems to be ſeized with a vertigo! he will at all events attack him, and diſpoſes his troops for that purpoſe in the moſt ill judged manner: we are defeated. Beſides, what particular honour can the Engliſh pretend to derive from this victory, when they are compelled to own * that in the prince's of Wales's army, which was compoſed of 12,000 men, there were not at moſt above 3000 Engliſh, and 9000 Gaſcoons.

King John was conducted to Bourdeaux: Edward wanted to have him in London: the Gaſcoons oppoſed it: We have had the honour ſaid they, to vanquiſh him, he ought to remain with us. Their indignation kindled: there was reaſon to apprehend they would ſet him at liberty, and write ſecretly to the Count d'Armagnac who commanded in Languedoc, to draw near in order to ſecond their deſigns: this is what induced the prince of Wales, to yield to the Pope's ſollicitations, and to conſent to a two years

* Vide Froiſſart, Larrey, Rapin de Thoyras.

years truce: this tied France's hands ---- King John was thereby incapacitated to relieve his country: as long as this Truce continued, it was not allowable to force any enterprize to deliver him. We find by the public acts * of England, that this truce was ſigned at Bourdeaux March 24, 1357, and that in the beginning of April the prince of Wales embarked with his priſoner, after having appeaſed the Gaſcoons, by giving ſome of them money, and making large promiſes to others. "When they made their entry "into London, (ſays Rapin de Thoyras,) the "prince of Wales rode on a little black nag by "king John's ſide, who was mounted on a "ſtately white courſer, adorned with coſtly trap-"pings." In this ſeeming modeſty of the victor, much pride might be diſcovered: it was the higheſt pitch of cruelty to expoſe an unhappy king as a ſhew for the populace.

Never were union and concord ſo neceſſary, as after the fatal battle of Poitiers: never were the ſentiments of the people ſo divided; never were there ſo much confuſion, trouble and diſorder in the State; Charles the Bad, makes his eſcape from priſon, and lights a freſh the torch of civil war; Paris revolts: the Dauphin runs the riſk of loſing his life: his authority is con-

* Acta Publica. . iii. pars i. p. 133.

temned; moſt of the great cities follow the example of the capital, and deliver themſelves up to a ſpirit of independency: the citizen takes upon him the republican; the Eccleſiaſtick eſtabliſhes ſocieties to convene the factions; the peaſants driven to deſpair by the violences exerciſed with impunity by the nobility in the Country, aſſemble in multitudes to knock them on the head and * deſtroy them; the perfidious Edward violates the conventions of the Truce, and ſupplies Charles the Bad with Troops, that France after having torn herſelf to pieces, and after being covered with freſh wounds, may no longer be in a condition to oppoſe him but with languid Efforts when he ſhall renew the war. Such is the picture of the French monarchy in the years 1357 and 1358.--it was then expiring. A ſudden and happy revolution took place in the minds of the people upon the news of a treaty, whereby king John was to obtain peace and his liberty, upon paying the Engliſh monarch four millions of golden crowns, and ceding to him in full ſovereignty La Guyenne, Saintonge, Limouſin, Perigord, Roüargue, Querci, Angoumois, Poitou, the country of Aunis, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, Normandy

* The reaſon they gave for violating the wives and daughters of the nobility was, that there might be no more nobles; and the monks and mendicants of their party, conſidering their intentions gave them abſolution.

Normandy, Boulonnois, Poitiers, the counties of Montreuil, and Guiſnes, the city of Calais, and the dependance of Bretagne.

So ſhameful a peace was unanimouſly rejected; honour and love for the name of Frenchman, rekindled in the heart of the nation: Even Charles the Bad ſeemed to throw off his factious and turbulent character: a reconciliation took place between him and the Dauphin: the flame of diſcord was extinguiſhed: diviſions ceaſed: the ſpirit of party which had but too ſtrongly prevailed in the general aſſembly of the States diſappeared, and the deputies of the three orders, after having deliberated upon the meaſures which were neceſſary to be purſued for ſupporting the war, granted the Dauphin conſiderable ſupplies, which however were almoſt impoſſible to be levied in a State, whoſe diſſenſions had not leſs drained it of men and money than the incurſions of the Engliſh.

Edward was ſo intoxicated with his proſperity, that he looked upon it as a great inſult for France to refuſe the conditions which he had impoſed upon king John: he ſwore he would compel that kingdom to acknowledge him as maſter: he renewed his alliances with the princes of Lower Germany, and with the cities of Flanders where he raiſed troops, and preſently found him-

ſelf at the head of an army of 100,000 men (according to Larrey,) which conſiſted of Germans, Flemings, Engliſh and Gaſcoons. He ſet out from Calais in November 1359, pillaged Artois and Picardy, entered Champagne, and ſtopped before Rheims: his deſign was to have been crowned at this laſt place; but this city though but ill fortified, defended itſelf ſo valiantly that he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege; he conſoled himſelf with ranſoming Burgundy and Nivernois, ſacking Brie and Champagne, and gratifying his barbarous pleaſure in burning the environs of Paris. He continued the ſame ravages in Beauce, when one day, ſay the hiſtorians, the ſky was inſtantly covered with a thick cloud, and in leſs than a quarter of an hour, all his camp was overflowed: his tents, baggage aud amunition were all born away by the torrent: a ſhower of hail of a moſt prodigious ſize killed hi men and horſes. * the trees which were torn up by the roots, by the violence of the wind, and the thunder and lightning were more than ſufficient to impreſs terror upon the moſt intrepid mind. The ſoldiers cried out that God interpoſed to avenge the cauſe of France: Edward ſeemed convinced of it: he turned towards the church of Chartres

* The Engliſh hiſtorians ſay, that a thouſand men and 6000 were killed.

Chartres whoſe ſteeple was in ſight, and vowed, that if he eſcaped the preſent danger, he would agree to a peace: that inſtant add the hiſtorians, the ſtorm ceaſed, the ſun appeared, and the ſky became ſerene.

It ſhould be obſerved, that the Dauphin not being powerful enough to keep the field, had drawn off as much corn and forage as he could; which he had ſent to be depoſited in the ſtrongeſt cities and caſtles, whither he had alſo retired with part of his troops, whilſt the remainder continued hovering about the enemy in detached parties, and inceſſantly harraſſed their rear-guard; that Edward had obſtinately purſued the ſiege of Rheims for ſeven weeks, where he loſt a great many men; that the difficulty he afterwards found in procuring proviſions, together with the fatigue of ſo many marches and counter-marches during a very wet Winter, had occaſioned great ſickneſs amongſt his troops, ſo that they were diminiſhed to half their number and continued daily decreaſing; that he had pillaged, burnt, and ſacked the flat country, without making any conqueſt; that it may therefore be preſumed, the vow which he made of giving peace to France was the effect of oſtentation and hypocriſy, to maſk his ſhame at not being able to execute any

thing conſiderable with ſo numerous an army * and that in fine, he would not have been in a condition to impoſe ſuch hard terms as thoſe of the treaty of Britigni, if Charles the Bad, ever the ſame and ever a traitor to his Country, and to the blood from which he ſprung, had not broke afreſh with the Dauphin, and rekindled the flame of civil war in Normandy.

We have already ſeen that by the treaty, which the aſſembly of the States referred to acquieſce in, king John had agreed to pay 400,0000 of golden crowns for his ranſom, and ceded in full ſovereignty Guyenne, Gaſcony, Saintonge, Limoſin, Perigord, Rouargue, Querci, Anjoumois, Poitou, the country of Aunis, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, Normandy, Boulonnois, Ponthieu, the counties of Montreuil and Guiſnes, and the city of Calais, with the dependance of Bretagne: by the treaty of Bretigni † the ranſom was fixed at 3,000,000 of golden crowns, and the ſame provinces were ceded except Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, Du Maine, and the ſovereignty over Bretagne

* See Rapin de Thoyras Vol. iii. p. 220.

† This treaty begins thus: Acta pub. T. iii. pars. 2. p. 14.

" As by the wars many mortal battles have been fought,

" Occiſions of People,

" Perils of Souls,

" Deflouring of Maids and Virgins. Diſhonouring married Women and Widows, &c.

tagne and Flanders, : Edward on his part promiſed to renounce all his pretenſions to the crown of France. King John returned to his kingdom October 28th, 1360 : he returned to England about Chriſtmas 1363 without any one being acquainted with the real motive of the voyage ; he died in London April 28th 1364. He was doubtleſs a knight of proweſs ; but in other reſpects a prince of no genius, no conduct, no diſcernment : he had no ideas but ſuch as were falſe or chimerical, and was as extravagant in point of probity, as valour, eaſily gained over by a flattering enemy, and haughtyly obſtinate with affectionate miniſters, who had the boldneſs to adviſe him : impatient and fantaſtical : he would too often deſcend to ribaldry with his troops. One day as the ſoldiers were ſinging the ſong of Roland as was cuſtomary upon marches, he ſaid, * " It is a good while ſince we have ſeen " any Rolands amongſt the French. We ſhould " ſee Rolands ſtill, (replied a veteran captain) if " they had a Charlemain to command them."

Before we recount the events of the war, which was rekindled between the two crowns in 1368. it is neceſſary to examine whether Charles Vth. had any juſt cauſe for declaring it. I ſhall not relate here that Edward after having acknow-

* Vide Boethius Hiſt. Scotorum.

ledged Philip de Valois as king of France and his lords violated thoſe oaths which had been renewed for eight whole years, and had no other excuſe for his conduct, than ſaying, "He had "previouſly proteſted in his privy council againſt "all treaties he ſhould make with Philip, and "that he had entered into them only becauſe he "was apprehenſive of loſing his poſſeſſions in "France, and becauſe he was unable to renew "the war." I ſhall not mention that king John had alſo proteſted in his privy council againſt the treaties which he might ſign: he was incapable of ſuch mental reſervation, and beſides this excuſe which Edward made uſe of, probably becauſe he knew it would be reliſhed by his people, would not have been favourably received by our's. I ſhall confine myſelf therefore to the articles of the treaty alone, to ſhow which of the two kings broke his word: I ſhall not inſiſt upon a contract's being not valid, when the contracting parties are not at full liberty, and that king John never was ſo as he was obliged before his being releaſed from priſon, to give up as hoſtages two of his own ſons, his brother, two other princes of the blood, and ſeveral lords: * we know that the hoſtages of a peace are anſwerable with their lives for the fulfilling of the conventions.

* Vide Grotius de jure belli & pacis.

ventions. The reader is here appriſed, that I can not poſſibly enter into a ſuccinct narration, and that I treat now of one of the moſt important points in the hiſtory of our wars with the Engliſh.

It was ſtipulated by the 12th article of the treaty ſigned at Britigni May 8th 1360, as I have ſaid before, that king John ſhould renounce his Sovereignty over the provinces which had been ceded to Edward: that Edward on his part ſhould renounce all his pretenſions to the crown of France, to Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, and the ſovereignty of Bretagne, and Flanders; and that the two kings ſhould have a conference at Calais in order to fix the time and place of the ſaid Renunciations. *

When they met at Calais, they corrected ſome of the articles of the treaty of Bretigni, and drew up and ſigned a convention, whereby it was agreed that the intended renunciations ſhould not take place at preſent; † that the provinces, cities, and lands ceded to Edward ſhould be delivered to him betwixt the 24th of October 1360, and All-ſaints day 1361; that after this delivery the deputies of both kings ſhould meet in the church of the Auguſtins at Bruges, upon St. Andrew's day of the ſaid year 1361, to give and receive

 reciprocally

* Acta pub. T. iii. pars. 1. p. 204. † ibid. T. iii. pars 2. p. 18.

reciprocally the ſaid renunciations, that is to ſay, the renunciation of king John to the provinces ceded to Edward, and that of Edward with reſpect to his pretenſions to the crown of France &c. that nevertheleſs king John ſhould be authorized to avail himſelf of the ſaid ſovereignty over the yielded provinces, till the expiration of the term ſpecified in the ſaid renunciations: in the like manner as Edward was allowed to take to himſelf and uſe the title of king of France till the ſaid time: * "Provided always in favour of "us king John our heirs and ſucceſſors, that "the ſaid letters above inſerted have no effect "or any way tend to our prejudice or detriment, "untill our ſaid brother Edward, and our ſaid "nephew the prince of Wales ſhall have deli-"vered and executed their ſaid renunciations in "the manner before mentioned, and that they "cannot avail themſelves of the ſaid preſent let-"ters againſt us our heirs and ſucceſſors, in any "manner except in the aboveſaid caſe."

† By the 28th article it was ſtipulated, that Edward ſhould at his own expence place king John in poſſeſſion, of all that he Edward and his allies, held in the provinces not ceded; in the ſame manner that king John ſhould deliver up at his own expence, all that was to be yielded to Edward;

* Ibid. T. iii. pars. 2. p. 15 and 17. † Ibid. page 5.

Edward; that in caſe there ſhould be found any rebellious or diſobedient ſubjects, king John ſhould at his own expence compel them to obey, and that Edward on his part engaged the ſame.

Rapin de Thoyras * agrees, that king John was very punctual in fulfilling his engagemeuts; that the Engliſh commiſſaries were put in poſſeſſion of the provinces ceded, and that no obſtacle aroſe but with reſpect to the county of Gaure in Gaſcony, and the eſtate of Belleville in Poitou, *objects of very little conſequence and which were ſubmitted to arbitration.*

† "Edward on the contrary, (ſays du Tillet) "had nothing elſe in view than to ſap and ruin "that part of the kingdom which remained in "king John's poſſeſſion, in order to ſeize upon "it afterwards. Inſtead of giving up at his own "expence the cities and fortreſſes which were "garriſoned by his troops, as he had expreſsly "agreed by the treaties of Bretigni and Calais, "he urged them under hand not only to keep "and defend them in their own name under "pretence of pay being due to them, but alſo to "aſſemble and to gain poſſeſſion of other places, "and to make inroads, and raiſe contributions "in

* Volume iii. page 229 and 243.

† See the collection of Treaties.

"in every part of the kingdom, which conſe-
"quently was as much harraſſed as in the time
"of the war with the Engliſh; which in fact
"ſubſiſted: for thoſe who continued it, had ſtill
"kept to their party, calling themſelves Com-
"panies men: ſo that there was no alteration
"but in the name. Edward to ſave appearan-
"ces, ſent to the commanders of the Places
"orders to ſurrender them, but made no diſpoſi-
"tions to compel them to it."

He ſhould have ſent deputies to Bruges, and we find in the Engliſh acts a commiſſion * dated November 15th 1361, † whereby John Wedale and Thomas Dunclent are appointed to repair to the ſaid city: but he altered his mind and did not ſend them. It ‡ ſeems the Pope reproached him

* If M. Bonamy had read this commiſſion attentively, he would have found that the object Edward had in view, was by chicanery to evade giving the Renunciations: he would have alſo found, that in the treaty with the princes of the blood, he had the ſame deſign; *and the new Editor* of the Hiſtory of *Father Daniel*, might have ſaved himſelf the note at the bottom of page 68 of volume 6, as it is certain that M. Bonamy is miſtaken, when he ſays that Edward in the Commiſſion of November 15th, 1361, charges the Deputies to make the Renunciations which he had promiſed, in his name: Edward does not ſay a ſingle word of this in the commiſſion.

† Vide Acta pub. T. iii. pars. 2. p. 49.

‡ Ibid page 52.

him with his conduct in a letter dated in January 1362. Jean de Montreuil and Jean Juvenal des Urſins ſay that our deputies repaired to Bruges upon St. Andrew's day 1361 * with letters patent which contained the renunciations of king John and the Dauphin, to the ſovereignty over the provinces given up, but that Edward ſent neither letters patent, nor the renunciations which he was to make on his part.

He found himſelf in poſſeſſion of the ceded provinces: he had taken meaſures to gain time by chicanery and freſh propoſitions, and his only deſign now was to elude the execution of the articles of the treaty, appearing however always ready to execute them. He made an offer in 1362 to the princes of the blood, and to ſome of the principal lords whom he detained as hoſtages, to let them return to France, upon condition that they would ſign, and make king John, the Dauphin, and the aſſembly of the States, † ſign a new treaty wherein he conſented to give the renunciations promiſed on his part, in the ſame manner as king John ſhould do on his part; but to this article was ſubjoined another, to which he was ſure neither the Dauphin nor the aſſembly of the States would ſubſcribe: it ſtipulated,

* Vide *Mſſ.* in the King's library.

† Vide Acta pub. T. iii, pars. 2. p. 71.

lated, that he Edward ſhould not be obliged to make good the damages incurred by the pillage which his captains, ſoldiers, adherents or allies, had committed, or coutinued to commit ſince the ſigning of the peace, in that part of the kingdom belonging to king John; and that he ſhould not be obliged to compel them at his own expence to deliver up the cities and fortreſſes which they there held. The danger and perfidy of this article was viſible: king John was reproached with his weakneſs in approving this new treaty. it was unanimouſly rejected: things remained in the ſame State, and no farther mention was made of renunciations.

Though the prince of Wales was indebted to the Gaſcoons for part of his glory, he treated them with great haughtineſs and ſeverity: they ſoon felt the yoke of his government: he completed the diſguſt he had given them by endeavouring to impoſe a tax upon every fire in his new Dominion: moſt of the temporal and ſpiritual lords, and nearly all the deputies of the principal cities, unable to bear any longer the inceſſant violation of their privileges, without his paying any regard to their remonſtrances, ſigned a petition, wherein, after having repreſented his uſurpations, and the injuſtice and violence of his officers, they lodged an appeal to the court of France.

France. The Sire d'Albret, the Counts d'Armagnac de Cominges, de Carmaing, and de Perigord, preſented this petition to Charles Vth.; he gave them a gracious reception, and treated them with diſtinction, but though they ſtrongly urged him to make a reply, he deferred for almoſt a whole year giving them a poſitive anſwer: he was very certain of his right of ſovereignty over Guyenne, but that all Europe might be acquainted with it, he pretended to be deſirous of greater certainty upon that head, by conſulting the moſt celebrated univerſities of Spain, Germany and Italy. He at length held his bed of juſtice in the month of January 1368, when the treaties of Britigni and Calais were examined: Edward's prevarications were manifeſt: he had furniſhed Charles *the Bad* with ſuccours: he had continued his correſpondence and intrigues with the Flemings: his garriſons had not evacuated the places and fortreſſes which he ſhould have yielded and delivered up at his own expence: they had pillaged and ravaged that part of the kingdom which belonged to king John: it had been neceſſary to make war againſt them, and that war had coſt much blood and money; though Edward had not ſecretly excited them, he was anſwerable for the evils they had occaſioned, as it was ſtipulated (in the 28th and 29th article,) "That in caſe

"of

" of any rebellious or diſobedient ſubjects being " found, the king of England ſhould compel " them to obedience at his own expence." With reſpect to the articles relating to the renunciations, they ſtipulated, * that the ſovreignty of king John over the ceded provinces ſhould remain in the ſame ſtate: that in the mean time he ſhould be authorized to exerciſe the ſaid ſovereignty untill St. Andrew's day 1361, the day fixed upon for giving the reciprocal renunciations: that the letters of renunciation over the yielded provinces, which he ſhould make and ſend by the ſaid St. Andrew's day, ſhould have no effect, nor any way prejudice him, his heirs or ſucceſſors, if Edward did not at the ſame time give letters of renunciation with regard to his pretenſions to the crown of France; king John therefore had retained his ſovereignty over the ceded provinces, and conſequently Charles Vth his ſon and ſucceſſor was authorized to receive the appeal of the people of the dutchy of Guyenne. He did receive it: the prince of Wales as vaſſal of the crown, was cited to appear before the court of peers: he replied, that he would appear at the head of 60,000 men, and his firſt ſtep was to impriſon and cruelly ill treat Bernard Gallot and John Chapponal who notified to him this citation:

* Acta, pub tom iii, pars 2 page 11 and 17.

tion: ſome hiſtorians * go ſo far as to ſay, that they were put to death by his order in priſon: this was violating the law of nations; but in all times, and we have recent proofs of it, the Engliſh have been very little ſollicitous about the eſteem of their neighbours, and their pride makes them look upon this indifference, as a noble liberty of thinking.

It was ſpecified in the treaties of Britigni and Calais, that if any alteration aroſe concerning any of the articles, the two *kings ſhould ſubmit to the arbitration of the court of Rome.* † Edward gave the finiſhing hand to the infraction of theſe treaties, by refuſing the offer that was made him by Charles Vth to refer their differences to the deciſion of the Pope and cardinals: the only reply his miniſters conſtantly made to our ambaſſadors was, ‡ "That if the king of France "began by giving up the cauſe of the people of "the Dutchy of Guyenne, and by renouncing "the ſovereignty of the ceded provinces, they "preſumed that their king would on his part, "make the proper renunciations." He therefore had not done it: and ſome time after he did not heſitate declaring, "That he never renounced

* Vide Juvenal des Urſins.

† Vide Acta publica tom iii pars 2 page 7.

‡ Vide Jean de Monſtreuil.

" renounced expreſsly nor tacitly his pretenſions " to the crown of France." *

I have taken all I have ſaid from the Engliſh acts themſelves; the reader is left to judge of Rapin de Thoyras's want of faith; he had the treaty of Calais before him, which corrects and interprets ſome of the articles of that of Britigni: he cautiouſly avoids mentioning thoſe articles, and pretends to be entirely unacquainted with them. Did he imagine that no French hiſtorians would recur to the public acts of England, or was he not afraid of bringing his own hiſtory into diſrepute, and diſhonouring himſelf by thus ſcandalouſly prevaricating? How dare he urge " That † king John in putting Edward into poſ- " ſeſſion of the ceded provinces, did not reſerve " to himſelf the ſovereignty over thoſe provinces, " neither by the treaty nor by any of the ſecret " ratifications of each reſpective article; and " that if he had reſerved to himſelf that ſove- " reignty, he would not have failed to enter a " proteſt when Edward (in the month of July " 1362) created Guyenne into a Principality " in favour of his ſon, without the participation " of France?" ‡ The treaty of Calais (theſe repititions I hope will be forgiven me) expreſsly ſtipulated,

* Vide Acta publica T. iii. pars. 2. p. 66.

† Volume third page 243.

‡ Acta publica Tom third, pars. ſecond, page 31.

ſtipulated, that king John's ſovereignty over the ceded provinces ſhould remain in *ſtatu quo*, till ſuch time as the two kings ſhould reciprocally have tranſmitted to each other the renunciations they were to make: that if Edward did not ſend his renunciations of his pretenſions to the crown of France, king John's renunciations of the ſovereignty over the yielded provinces ſhould be of no effect: Edward did not ſend his renunciations, conſequently the act whereby he took upon himſelf the ſovereignty of Guyenne, by erecting it into a Principality in favour of the prince of Wales became annulled: this was an infraction of the treaty, againſt which king John had previouſly proteſted.

I ſhould not paſs over in ſilence a complaint which the Engliſh monarch repreſented as an enormous grievance: "Some of the priſoners "(ſaid he) who were detained in our dominions "for not having paid their ranſom, and ſome of "the hoſtages have made their eſcape and have "not returned, notwithſtanding the citations "we have ſent to them and to king Charles." I aſk, if it is not natural for the hoſtages of a peace which he had violated to conſider themſelves as as free, particularly when their apenages and domains were ranſacked by his captains and ſoldiers; whom he had underhand exited to act

in

in that manner; I aſk if he was not the moſt iniquitous of men in exacting from his priſoners exhorbitant ſums, notwithſtanding the repreſentations they made to him of the ſituation of their lands, which his troops had not leſs ravaged in time of peace than they had done during the war.

As England and Scotland form only one State, Rapin de Thoyras ſpeaks impartially upon the wars and treaties between thoſe two kingdoms before their union; he agrees * that Edward made uſe of the moſt daſtardly and odious means to dethrone the king of Scotland, a child, and his brother-in-law; but when that Edward has to do with France, he paints him as an equitable magnanimous prince, full of candour and rectitude, and diſplaying a moſt aſtoniſhing moderation in his ſucceſſes; "Moreover "(ſays he,) there is but little probability that "the treaty of Britigni being ſo advantageous to "him, he ſhould be deſirous of furniſhing the "French with pretences for breaking it." For my part I am of opinion, that this treaty which was ſo advantageous to him and ſo ſevere for us, was preciſely the reaſon which induced him to perſuade himſelf, that either he muſt make himſelf completely maſter of France, or live in continual

* Volume third, page 165 and 166.

continual fear, if he gave her time to breath, that ſhe would not fail avenging the injuſtices he he had done her: this inſtant excited him to foment troubles by ſupplying Charles *the Bad* with ſuccours: it was for this that a part of his troops whom he had purpoſely diſbanded without paying them coutinued their ravages; he eluded ſending the renunciations, becauſe he ſtill flattered himſelf that our provinces exhauſted by miſery, would at length yield to him in deſpair, by degrees accuſtom themſelves to be deluded by his pretended right to a kingdom, whoſe misfortunes he could either terminate or prolong. His hopes were fruſtrated, and he was convinced that the long reign of unjuſt kings is frequently nothing more than a gift which heaven iſſues from the treaſury of it's vengeance, that they may be ſpectators before their death of the downfall of that edifice which their haughty and unruly ambition, had raiſed and cemented with blood. Du Gueſclin, after having defeated the army of Charles the Bad at Cocherel in 1364, and by that victory obliged him to ſue for peace, performed a ſtill more important ſervice to France the enſuing year; he engaged thoſe troops of Banditti, which deſolated the country to follow him into Spain, in order to oppoſe Pedro *the cruel*, king of Caſtille, who had juſt

poiſoned

poiſoned Blanche de Bourbon his wife. Charles Vth being relieved from this ſcourge, and from the hoſtilities of Charles *the Bad*, applied himſelf to the ſolacing of his people, the regulation and œconomy of his finances, and to agriculture and commerce which he cauſed again to flouriſh: the reſources of a kingdom like France, provided they are not ſtifled by a tyrannical adminiſtration, are ſo great and natural, that it requires but a little time for it to recover itſelf, and ſhine forth with it's uſual brilliance, Charles Vth in leſs than five years found himſelf in ſuch a ſituation, that he had no longer occaſion to be in any ſort of fear of Edward, but brandiſhed the ſword of juſtice and ſovereignty againſt that vaſſal whoſe ambition was groundleſs: he ſent a private valet to declare war againſt him, after that the court of Paris, had by their arret of November 1369 confiſcated the dutchy of Guyenne, and all his poſſeſſions in the kingdom, in conſequence of his daring attempts, his infraction of treaties, the inſolent reply of the prince of Wales his ſon, and the inſults offered to two perſons * in a public character.

I ſhall not enter into a detail of this war; ſuffice it to ſay that Edward ſaw in leſs than ſix campaigns thoſe very provinces wreſted from him, which

* Bernard Pallot and Jean Chapponal.

which he had been more than 20 years in conquering, though favoured by our diſſentions, our civil wars, and all the efforts of that wickedneſs poſſeſſed by Charles *the Bad*. Some of our Hiſtorians, ever faithful copyiſts of the Engliſh hiſtorians, * give their readers to underſtand, that Edward's advanced age and the prince of Wales's illneſs greatly contributed to the rapidity of our ſucceſs; it is true, the prince of Wales, though he continued to command and act, did not enjoy for ſome time a good ſtate of health; but Charles V. was equally afflicted; with regard to Edward, he died at the age of 65; he was only 58 when the war broke out, and was to the laſt of a moſt robuſt conſtitution. Let us ſay, that in the preceding wars two thirds of his armies were compoſed of Gaſcoon and other provincial officers and ſoldiers, from beyond the Loire; whereas in this laſt war, the majority of the Lords of theſe provinces, were no longer his partizans, and two thirds of his troops were Engliſh. He might have drawn great ſuccours from Bretagne, if the Bretons had not oppoſed his evil deſigns and thoſe of their Duke with the moſt unſhaken reſolution.

Charles V. died September 16th, 1380: at his death the Engliſh remained in poſſeſſion of no other places in the kingdom than Calais, Cher-

* Bernard Pallot and Jean Chapponal.

burg, Breſt, Bourdeaux, and Bayonne. Charles the ſixth's youth (he being only 12 years old when he aſcended the throne) gave France up to the avarice and ambition of his three uncles, the dukes of Anjou, Berri, and Burgundy; ſummoned by their birth to take the reins of government into their hands, they became the tyrants of the ſtate, conſulting nothing but their own private intereſts. The duke of Anjou, whom Jane queen of Naples had adopted, ſet out for Italy, after he had poſſeſſed himſelf of the treaſure amaſſed by the deceaſed king, which he had concealed in the caſtle of Melun; the duke of Berri ſet out to pillage Languedoc and Guyenne, the government of which he had procured; and the duke of Burgundy who remained maſter in the council, reſolved upon declaring war againſt the Flemings, who had revolted againſt the Count of Flanders, whoſe daughter and ſole heireſs this duke had wedded. The king was not yet fourteen years old, but he had manifeſted a warlike diſpoſition from his infancy; he abſolutely inſiſted upon going on this expedition. This was in the beginning of November; the river Lys was then greatly ſwelled; 5 or 6 hundred of our men having found ſome boats, croſſed it without being perceived, and ſuddenly attacked and routed a body of 6000 of the enemy, who guarded the head of the bridge of Comines: among the dead was found

found an old woman, who had promiſed them that they ſhould be invincible, if they allowed her to bear the ſtandard of St. George. We advanced into the country, and the 17th of November 1382 is a memorable day in our hiſtory for gaining the battle of Roſebegue: the rebels, animated by their numbers and heated with inſolent confidence, had deliberated the preceeding day in the council "To give quarter to no one "but little king Charles, whom Philip Artivelle, "their chief, wanted to make a preſent of to the "King of England." They were entirely routed. Upwards of 20,000 were ſlain, among which number was Artivelle: this victory ſtruck the rebellious cities with a pannic, and they all ſubmitted except Ghent: the ſeaſon being too far advanced to begin the ſiege, the king returned to Paris.

The following year the war was ſtill more bloody in Flanders: religion became part of the quarrel: there were two popes Clement VII. and Urban VI. who had anathematized each other reciprocally for five years. Urban perceiving that ſpiritual thunders did not much advance his cauſe, had recourſe to temporal arms, and declared a croiſade againſt his competitor and his adherents; thoſe who liſted under this banner were allowed all poſſible indulgences. The Engliſh were ſollicitous to partake of them, as nothing appeared to them ſo meritorious, as to

engage in a war which principally threatened France, where Clement was acknowledged the real ſucceſſor to St. Peter. Thoſe that ſet out for the Croiſade landed at Calais; their General was Henry Spencer Biſhop of Norwich; This mitred ſoldier, ſays an hiſtorian, whether he found our frontiers too well guarded, or whether the inhabitants of Ghent had brought him over to their intereſt, marched againſt the Count of Flanders who acknowledged Urban, but who was a vaſſal of France when Clement was acknowledged: he took Gravelin, Bourbourg, Mardyke, Dunkirk, Caſſel, Nieuport, Furnes and Oſtend: but at the approach of the Conſtable de Cliſſon and our army, the credit of Urban's benedictions began to fail: Spencer raiſed the ſiege of Ypres, and abandoned all his conqueſts, except Bergues, Gravelin, and Bourbourg: the troops which he had diſtributed in theſe three places, fled from the two firſt at our approach; the ſiege of Bourbourg, whither they were all retired, was formed: and not a ſingle Engliſhman would have eſcaped, if the duke of Bretagne who was in our army, had not interceded in behalf of his old friends who were allowed to retire to Calais.

The Count of Flanders died January 23, 1384; the duke of Burgundy, who had married his daughter and ſole heireſs, by uniting this rich ſucceſſion to the other great fiefs of the crown, which

which king John his Father had bequeathed him, laid the baſis of that extent of power, which was in the end ſo fatal to the State: the unhappy politics of this prince and of the duke of Bretagne, conſiſted in conſtantly obliging France to be upon a good footing with them, and to wink at their airs of independency; to which end they thought it neceſſary to make themſelves feared, and that France would ceaſe to have any apprehenſions from them, if the Engliſh were entirely driven out of the kingdom. From this period the reader will meet with nothing but a ſeries of treachery and crimes.

The greateſt preparations were making at the port of Ecluſe: near 900 ſhips rendezvouſed there; Charles VI. with the advice and aſſiſtance of the Conſtable de Cliſſon, was going to fall upon England: the opportunity was favourable; ſhe was drained of her beſt troops by an expedition to Portugal: every thing promiſed us an eaſy conqueſt: The Engliſh, whoſe natural preſumption fails them when attacked at their fire-ſides, had already deſerted their maritime cities, and far from conſulting the defence of their coaſts, fled with their treaſures into the midſt of foreſts; Richard II. in this general conſternation, followed the duke of Suffolk's counſel; he tempted the duke of Berri's avarice and ſucceeded: that ſhameful Prince had taken upon him to aſſemble part of

our army, and to conduct it into Flanders; Charles VI. might well ſend him couriers after couriers to urge him on---he did not arrive till the middle of September; the wind which had been remarkably favourable for two months ſucceſſively began to change; the ſea became boiſterous, and the greater part of our ſhips being damaged in a ſtorm which laſted two days and two nights, were altogether unfit for ſervice.

Freſh preparations were making during the winter: Cliſſon continued repreſenting to the council, that the troubles and diſſentions in England were ſtill very great, and that we ought to avail ourſelves of the opportunity: he repaired to Treguyer towards the end of June, where he puſhed on the armament: Richard II. in order to divert this ſtorm, had recourſe to the duke of Bretagne: he could not have applied better; the duke who fancied he had recent ſubjects of complaint againſt Cliſſon, imagined he might ſerve the Engliſh, and appear only to avenge himſelf of a man who was born his ſubject, and ſeemed to brave him upon every occaſion; he ſent to compliment him upon his arrival in Bretagne, and invited him to aſſiſt at the aſſembly of the States whom he had convened at Vannes; Cliſſon went thither fully perſuaded that his dignity as Conſtable would ſecure him from all inſults; moreover it is ſaid

that

that he was in love with the ducheſs *; the duke almoſt devoured him with careſſes, conſulted him upon ſeveral affairs, and having one day engaged him to take a walk to the caſtle of Hermine, put him under arreſt, and ordered Bavalan, captain of the caſtle, to tie him up at night in a ſack, and caſt him into the ſea: Bavalan was acquainted with his maſter; he conſidered the remorſe he would feel: the duke was, in fact, the next day in quite a different mind from that of the preceding, and when Bavalan owned to him that his order was not executed, he embraced him with tranſports, and aſſured him he ſhould never forget the ſervice he had done him by his diſobedience; nevertheleſs as he pretended to have grounds of complaint againſt Cliſſon's behaviour, he declared he would not releaſe him but upon certain terms, and not till he had paid the ſum of 100,000 livres. The king was much amazed, as it was reaſonable to expect, at ſuch an attempt upon the firſt officer of the crown; but his youth ſtill kept him dependant upon his uncles: they had a particular enmity to Cliſſon, and the duke of Bretagne was clear, on promiſing to give

* It's ſaid the Dutcheſs and Cliſſon, were in very tender embraces one day, when they were obſerved through a lattice by the king of Navarre Charles the Bad, and that he acquainted the Duke therewith. Cliſſon had loſt an eye, ſo that if this anecdote be true it proves, that a man with one eye may be loved as well as any other. The M. S. ſuits of Charles of Navarre.

up the 100,000 livres, and renouncing the other conditions which he had exacted from his priſoner. Thus failed the ſecond armament againſt England: Cliſſon was the ſoul of this expedition: he had meditated and planned the ſcheme, and there was no one but he who could execute it; as he had gained the confidence of the troops, as ſoon as the report was ſpread of his being confined at Treguyer, they deſerted.

The Dukes of Berri and Burgundy continued ſacrificing the State to their own private intereſts: all France called out ſhame upon them: Charles VI. having attained his twentieth year, declared to them that he would henceforward govern by himſelf: they retired much diſpleaſed, one to his government of Languedoc, and the other to his dominions in Flanders. The new miniſters whom the king fixed upon had capacity and upright intentions; they ſuppreſſed part of the taxes, reformed many abuſes that were burthenſome to the people, and contrary to the adminiſtration of juſtice, the intereſt of the finances, and the advantage of commerce: every one pleaſed himſelf with the proſpect of a glorious aud happy reign. It was known that Cliſſon, who was convinced of the neceſſity of entirly extirpating the Engliſh out of the kingdom, waited only for the expiration of a truce of three years which had been granted to them, to attack them in their own iſland, and there

there let them ſee ſome of thoſe evils which they had occaſioned unto us, and compel them to accept of a peace upon ſuch terms as we ſhould think proper to offer. In the night of the 13th and 14th of June, upon his return to his Hotel with ſcarce any attendants, he was attacked in the ſtreet called Coulture St. Catherine by one Peter de Craon at the head of a band of twenty villains: they imagined he was killed, ſeeing him fall from his horſe; but he received only ſome wounds which were cured. It was known that Craon took refuge in Bretagne; the Duke who was ſummoned to deliver him up, replied that he had come into his dominions, but that he was there no longer. Upon this reply the king reſolved to march into Bretagne; the dukes of Berri and Burgundy to whom he ſent orders to come and join him with the troops they ought to furniſh, obeyed, but publickly declared that this war was a very unjuſt one. On the 5th of Auguſt the enemy ſet out from Mans, and took the route of Nantes: it is ſaid that for three or four days the king appeared diſturbed in his mind, and that he expreſſed it by his eyes: it was very hot weather; the intenſe heat of the Sun had turned his brain, and he became mad: he drew his ſword and killed three or four people round him. I ſhould be inclined to think that this accident, which deprived him of reaſon except by intervals, was not the effect of intoxication; but why was

not that tall black man, that kind of a phantom, who ſome minutes before iſſued from behind a buſh, and who having laid hold of his horſe's bridle, cried out in a terrible voice, "Stop, "prince, you are betrayed; whither are you "going?" Why was not this man taken up? Why was it reported in Paris for upwards of a fortnight, that the expedition againſt Bretagne would prove fatal?

This war was no more thought of; the troops were diſbanded; the king was conducted to Paris; the miniſters whom he had choſen were driven from his council, and ſhamefully perſecuted by the dukes of Berri and Burgundy, who ſeized afreſh the reins of government; there was no farther thought of availing ourſelves of the diſorders in England; a truce for 28 years was ſigned with Richard II.; he interceded for Craon's pardon, and this aſſaſſin returned to court, whilſt Cliſſon was baniſhed from thence, and ſaw himſelf diveſted of all his employments.

In 1399 Henry * of Lancaſter dethroned Richard II. and afterwards had him put to death, by beating him with clubs in the tower of Pontefract. Richard had wedded the eldeſt daughter of Charles VI.; it appeared then, that France

* He ſaid that Richard was a baſtard, the iſſue of the amours of the princeſs of Wales, and a Canon of Bourdeaux.

could

could not decently acknowledge the murderer of this prince for his ſucceſſor; but the duke of Burgundy influenced the council, and his opinion prevailed; Henry was acknowledged, and the truce between the two crowns renewed, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of the duke of Orleans; he had conſtantly refuſed to ſee Henry's embaſſadors; he continued treating him like an uſurper, and even ſent him a very abuſive challenge. When Charles VI. recovered his health he approved of his brother's conduct, adopted his ſentiments and ordered ſuccours to be ſent to the malecontents, in England, and troops to march into Guyenne; ſeveral fortreſſes were there taken from the Engliſh, and it is not to be queſtioned that if the duke of Burgundy had been ſo minded, the deſign of wreſting from them the few places and caſtles that they ſtill poſſeſſed in the kingdom, would have been accompliſhed.

We now border upon thoſe times of horror, when there was neither party, king, nor people. The duke of Burgundy departed this life April 17th, 1404; John, ſurnamed *without fear*, his eldeſt ſon, after having taken poſſeſſion of the duchy and county of Burgundy, of Artois and Flanders, came to court to foment diviſions, and ſeize upon the government. It was not without much impatience and chagrin, that the duke of Orleans had before ſeen himſelf compelled to

yield ſo long to the ſuperior age and experience of the father; he was therefore greatly hurt at the cabals and claims of his ſon. Each day produced freſh conteſts and freſh reconciliations, ruptures, and new cauſes of hatred and jealouſy between the two princes. The duke of Burgundy, who was born a villain, cheriſhed in his heart every cruel paſſion: the diſpoſition of his nature was to create crimes, in the ſame manner as venomous plants produce poiſon. On the 23d of November 1407, between ſeven and eight at night, he cauſed the duke of Orleans * to be aſſaſſinated, in the old ſtreet *du Temple*; the next day he aſſiſted at his funeral, lamented his loſs and wept: but finding that very ſtrict ſearch was going to be made, at the houſes even of the princes of the blood, and knowing that the aſſaſſins would be found in his Hotel † of Artois, he made a precipitate eſcape from Paris and fled with them into Flanders. He afterwards returned with 1000 armed men, and was ſo far from teſtifying any remorſe for his crime that he haughtily aſked to be heard, and in an audience which he compelled them to allow him, a Cordelier named John Petit, who was his ſpeaker,

* He was the king's only brother. He left three ſons; the eldeſt of whom was only fourteen years old: they continued in mourning for him for ſeveral years.

† In the ſtreets of Mauconſeil and Counteſs of Artois.

maintained

maintained in preſence of the Dauphin who preſided, that the duke of Orleans had by ſeveral actions proved himſelf to be an impious tyrant; that it was lawful to kill tyrants; and conſequently, that killing him was nothing but a juſt and legal action, uſeful and neceſſary to the ſtate.

The revolt of the inhabitants of Liege againſt their Biſhop, obliged the duke of Burgundy to return into Flanders: the queen who was under the greateſt apprehenſions from him, and who had retired to Melun, returned to Paris; the ducheſs of Orleans to whom ſhe wrote, did not delay repairing thither, accompanied by her children; ſhe threw herſelf at the king's feet, and implored juſtice for the death of her huſband, and for the ſhameful calumnies with which his memory had been aſperſed, after he was aſſaſſinated. Her prayer was heard; the pardon which the duke of Burgundy had obtained, was annulled; he was pronounced a traitor, an aſſaſſin, a calumniator and an enemy to the ſtate. Whilſt his trial was depending in court, fortune favoured him in Flanders: the news ſoon came that he had gained a compleat victory over the malecontents of Liege, and that he was returning to Paris; the queen who did not think that this was a place of ſafety for her, carried the king with her to Tours. The ducheſs of Orleans

leans was of a hot, choleric diſpoſition; ſhe had borne a tender love for her huſband; when ſhe found that his aſſaſſin was upon the point of triumphing, and that the court was obliged to negociate with him, ſhe fell a victim to chagrin and deſpair. Her death, and the tender years of her children, facilitated the negociation, and an apparent reconciliation between the two houſes: the duke of Burgundy promiſed to diſband his troops; he had a ſafe-guard to conduct him to Chartres, where he aſked the king's pardon, and addreſſing himſelf afterwards to the young duke of Orleans and his brothers, begged of them to pardon him likewiſe: a marriage was agreed upon between one of his daughters and one of theſe princes, and the king ordered them to make oath of a ſincere reconciliation. Could it be ſincere? Beſides a wicked man often thinks that by affecting pride, he will tincture his very crimes with a kind of pride: the duke of Burgundy appeared more haughty and overbearing than ever: the houſe of Orleans looked upon him with indignation: the other princes were not leſs ſhocked to ſee him ſeize upon all authority: jealouſy of the government, and his imperious manners, united almoſt every one againſt him. The kingdom fell a prey to all the evils which are attendant upon a civil war: the French, divided under the names of Orleannois

and

and Burgundians, devoted themſelves as inſtruments to the fury of thoſe two houſes, and drenched with their blood the capital and the provinces; the king, whoſe mental weakneſs daily increaſed by the frequent returns of his diſorder, was nothing but a phantom which the two factions by turns laid hold of.

England was not in leſs confuſion than France, during the reign of Henry IV. the murderer of Richard II.; he died March 20th, 1413. It was reſerved for Henry V. his ſon, to profit of our diſſentions, and of the blackeſt and moſt daſtardly treachery. The populace of Paris were ſtill ſeditious, and carried their inſolence ſo far as to inſult the king and the dauphin: the duke of Burgundy, the conſtant ſpring of the commotions and maſſacres of this mob, was declared an enemy to the ſtate: the king who was a little recovered, was going to take the ſtandard of St. Denis, and command his army in perſon: the duke of Burgundy being cloſely purſued, was compelled to humble himſelf: he was pardoned conditionally, and one of the terms was, that he ſhould not approach Paris and the court, without being ſent for by the king's letters, ſealed with the great ſeal and iſſued by the advice of the council. This ſtipulation which eſtranged him from the government of the ſtate, filled him with rage; he ſaw

his

his faction ſinking, and that of the Orleannois, who were alſo called Armagnacs, triumphing: he negociated with England, and gave the finiſhing ſtroke to all the abominations of his life, by a treaty which ſpecified,

That till then, for want of good information, he had been ignorant or miſunderſtood the juſt rights of the king of England and his heirs to the crown of France; that having examined them, he acknowledges them juſt and legal: that he promiſes and engages, in conſequence thereof, to wage a mortal war againſt Charles VI. and the dauphin, and ſubmits to pay liege-homage to the ſaid king of England, as ſoon as he ſhall be in poſſeſſion of tolerable part of the kingdom of France; acknowledging that though this homage be due at preſent, it is poſtponed for the mutual advantage of each.

That he will, by every ſecret means which he knows of, or which ſhall be pointed out to him, act in ſuch a manner, as to place the ſaid king of England in the real and peaceable poſſeſſion of the ſaid kingdom of France.

That whilſt the ſaid king of England ſhall be employed in recovering his rights, he the duke of Burgundy, will make war with all his forces againſt the enemies which the ſaid king of England has in the kingdom of France, that is to ſay, againſt A. B. C. D. and againſt all their coun-

tries

tries and partiſans who ſhall diſobey the ſaid king of Engand.

That if in treaties of alliance, letters patent, or otherwiſe, he ſhould appear to ſide with Charles VI. who calls himſelf king of France, and with the dauphin, this will only be through diſſimulation, to obtain a greater advantage, and to advance the ſcheme projected between the king of England and the duke of Burgundy.

Thus did a prince of the blood, grandſon to king John, and the firſt peer of the kingdom, league with the natural enemies of his country, to wreſt the ſcepter from his own houſe, and give it to that of an uſurper, to whom even the crown of England * did not belong. We may at the ſame time form a judgment in what manner our hiſtory of France is compoſed: This treaty, the conſequences of which have been ſo fatal to us, has been paſſed over in ſilence by all our hiſtorians, except Father Daniel, who only ſpeaks of it by the bye, and ſo ſlightly, that one would imagine he had not read it at length: I cannot conceive how he neglected

* In default of Richard II. the crown of England belonged to Mortimer earl of March, ſon to that Roger, who had been declared preſumptive heir to Richard II. and who deſcended from Lionel of Clarence, ſecond ſon to Edward III.; whereas Henry of Lancaſter, father to Henry V. was ſon of a younger branch of Lionel.

to

to avail himſelf of it, for clearing up ſeveral facts during the remainder of the reign of Charles VI. It ſhould be further obſerved, that this treaty was only renewed and confirmed at Calais in the month of October 1416, and that it had been concluded ſo early as the year 1414: various vouchers of this treaty are found in the public acts of England, amongſt others a procuration of this year 1414, whereby we find that the duke of Burgundy acknowledged himſelf a liege-vaſſal of Henry V. and was to pay him homage in that quality *. To theſe evidences another may be added; which is, that Henry V. in 1413, had ſent an embaſſy to Paris ſolely to deſire the renewal of the 28 years truce between the two crowns; † but that in 1414, elevated with the alliance which he had juſt made ſecretly with the duke of Burgundy, he ſent freſh embaſſadors who ſpoke in a very different tone; they at firſt demanded all the kingdom, which they ſaid they did by virtue of their maſter's right, as heir to Edward III.: they were afterwards willing to reduce their demands to the execution of the treaty of Bretigni, that is to ſay, to a ceſſion of nearly the one half of France.

Theſe propoſals would certainly terminate in nothing but a declaration of war: Henry made all his preparations, and publickly ſaid, "That

* Acta publica, T. 4. pars 2. p. 80. † Vide Rapin, p. 80.

"he

" he ſhould have only the one half of the French " to oppoſe, and that the other half would even " make a diverſion in his favour." On the 21ſt of Auguſt 1415, he landed in Normandy three leagues from Harfleur, at the head of 50,000 men: the next day he laid ſiege to that place. Seven or eight lords of the country, who had thrown themſelves into it, with 400 armed men, made a vigorous defence till the 28th of September: they were in conſtant expectation of being ſucooured, and did not capitulate till they were at the laſt extremity.

This ſiege coſt the Engliſh a great number of men: they were beſides afflicted with the dyſentery: they were in want of proviſions, and the ſeaſon became very inclement by reaſon of continual rains. Henry thought of nothing but ſending his troops home, when on the 30th of October ſuch a violent ſtorm aroſe, that all his tranſports, after being daſhed one againſt the other, were either ſhattered, diſperſed, or completely wrecked upon our coaſt. He was in hopes by making forced marches, to arrive at Calais before we could oppoſe his retreat. He croſſed the country of Cœux, the country of Eu, Vienne; went up the Somme, and took many round about ways to croſs it above St. Quintin, which he did without oppoſition by the treachery of thoſe who commanded the militia

litia of that diſtrict. He thought, or ſeemed to think, that he would not be intercepted in his march, when he diſcovered our army between Ruiſſeauville and Azincourt, he could no longer avoid coming to action: he incamped at the village of Maiſonelles, from whence he ſent to make propoſals of giving up Harfleur and paying for all the damage he had done in France from the time of his deſcent, provided the paſſage remained free for him to Calais: his offers were rejected. His troops were fatigued and harraſſed: ours were in good condition and three times as numerous: but nothing can ſupply a want of confidence between ſoldiers and their general; this is the moſt fatal preſage, particularly on the day of battle: the conſtable Charles Albert was neither loved nor eſteemed: he was taxed with preſumption and incapacity, the uſual attendants of a man raiſed by mere favour. He had neglected two days before to occupy a defile which 300 men might have defended againſt 50,000: the Engliſh would have been compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion; he probably wanted to ſignalize himſelf by gaining a battle: he did preciſely all he could to loſe it: if he had conſulted with the enemy upon the choice of his ground, they could not have pointed him out any worſe: inſtead of keeping upon an extenſive ſpace, open and unconfined, he poſted

himſelf

himſelf between two woods in a field ſo very cloſe, that he at once put it out of his power to derive any advantage from the ſuperiority of his numbers; the diſpoſition of his army and his other manœuvres were equally deſpicable: moreover all the firſt nobility were deſirous of being with the princes in the vanguard; they were not ranged but in crowds, and were ſo preſſed that it was ſcarce poſſible to extend the army. They fought with much courage, but were conſtantly in ſuch great diſorder and confuſion, that it was braving death without marching up to victory. We left five princes of the blood, a great number of lords, and 6000 armed men * or gentlemen, and 1800 ſoldiers; the relations and friends of the Conſtable Albert had the melancholy conſolation of finding that he was among the ſlain. I ſhall not enter into other details upon this fatal day; they are to be met with in every hiſtory: I ſhall make only a ſingle obſervation: our troops were entirely routed: ſome of them ſeemed to ſtop, and were inclined to rally: † Henry fearing that if the action was re-commenced, the priſoners which he had taken would incommode his own troops, and might be inclined to make their eſcape, ordered an officer with 200 archers to go and

* The armed men, *hommes d'armes*, were almoſt all gentlemen. † Rapin.

cut

cut their throats from rank to rank: The duke of Brabant and the count of Nevers, brothers to the duke of Burgundy, were amongſt the number of thoſe unhappy victims. Bertrand du Gueſclin was at the battle of Cocherel in the ſame ſituation as the Engliſh monarch: he completed the defeat and purſuit of the enemy, when he was informed that ſuccours were in view for them: he ordered the priſoners to be diſarmed, but not to be put to the ſword.

Henry with his victorious army, which was, nevertheleſs, reduced from 50 to 17 or 18,000 men, reached Calais, from whence he returned to England. "His victory, (ſays Rapin de "Thoyras,) had not procured him an inch of "land;" and the taking of Harfleur, his only conqueſt, was a very trifling indemnification for the immenſe ſums, which he had diſburſed for his armaments: the ſequel will ſhew that being drained of money and ſoldiers, he was compelled to remain inactive for the two ſucceeding years.

When our conſternation, which is always at firſt exceſſive, was ſomewhat abated, it was conſidered that the wound we had received was very bloody, but that it was not dangerous: that two thirds of our army had not been engaged: that freſh troops poured in upon us from every ſide: that the Frenchman re-appeared himſelf

himſelf as ſoon as he had a chief; and that, far from being obliged to keep upon the defenſive, we were very capable of making an attack: we reſolved upon recovering Harfleur: ammunition was wanting there: the fortifications were not yet entirely repaired: and it was difficult for the Engliſh to throw in ſpeedy ſuccours; but we experienced that when Henry ſaid, "That half "the French would make a diverſion in his "favour," he was unhappily but too ſure of it. News came that the duke of Burgundy advanced towards Paris with a numerous army, and we were therefore obliged, inſtead of continuing the ſiege of Harfleur, to man the moſt important poſts upon the Seine and the Oiſe. He ſent deputies who declared from him, that he only came to ſalute the king, and to intreat him not to keep him at ſuch a diſtance from his perſon and councils in conjunctures ſo dangerous for the ſtate. The dauphin replied, that he might come provided he disbanded his troops, and appeared as an obedient and ſubmiſſive vaſſal ought to do. The perfidious duke who waited for this reply, continued his march and encamped at Lagni; he expected that the powerful faction which he had in Paris, would throw open the gates of that city to him; but ſuch prudent meaſures were taken, that not one of his partizans dared to declare himſelf. He ſent freſh

deputies

deputies: the dauphin was ſeized with ſuch a ſudden and violent diſorder, that he died in ſix days, viz. December 8th 1413: it was ſuſpected that he loſt his life by poiſon.

To the dauphin Lewis ſucceeded prince John his brother, who was then ſeventeen years of age; he was then at Valenciennes with the count of Hainaut, whoſe daughter he had married. It was in vain for the king and queen to write to him, and preſs him to wait upon them, to aſſume that rank to which his birth entitled him; he conſtantly poſtponed doing it, pretending to have apprehenſions and fears, and alledging for his excuſe the two factions which rent the ſtate. At laſt at the end of fifteen months, he came as far as Compiegne; the count of Hainaut who governed there, repaired to Paris and haughtily declared in full council, that the dauphin was his kinſman and heir, that he would not carry him to court, but that on the contrary he was going to conduct him back to Valenciennes, if the king would not take the duke of Burgundy into his confidence and friendſhip, and admit him near his perſon. In conſequence of this ſpeech the count of Hainaut ſhould have been immediately arreſted: the thing was deliberated upon; he got ſcent thereof, diſguiſed himſelf, and fled from Paris to Compiegne; he there found the dauphin expiring with an impoſthume, which had

burſt

burſt in his throat, and which ſtifled him April 3d, 1470. A report was ſpread that the queen had ſent this young prince a golden chain, and that ſcarce had he got poſſeſſion of it before h' fell ill, and the ſkin of his hands peeled off. Others aver that the king of Sicily poiſoned him, to advance the Count de Ponthieu, his kinſman (who thereby ſucceeded to the title of dauphin, and was afterwards Charles VII.) to the throne. The reader is deſired to give the greateſt attention to the facts and dates which I am going to enumerate: he will diſcover the ignorance, the negligence, and the want of reflection of all our hiſtorians, without excepting one.

The dauphin Lewis died October 18th, 1415, according to the Journal under Charles the ſixth, page twenty-nine.

April 19th, 1416, * a conſpiracy was diſcovered in Paris, which had been hatched by the duke of Burgundy, the deſign whereof was to kill the king, the queen, and the duke of Berri, the king and queen of Sicily, Tangui du Chaſtel, the chancellor Demarle, and ſeveral others: the principal accomplices confeſſed this execrable plot, either upon the rack, or whilſt they were dying.

* Vide Monſtrelet, Vol. I. chap. 155.

In the month of October, of the ſame year 1416, the duke of Burgundy repaired to Calais, where he renewed that infamous treaty, of which I have already given an abſtract, and wherein he acknowledged the king of England as the legitimate king of France, promiſing, * "that by every ſecret means he could diſcover, "or which ſhould be pointed out to him, he "would act in ſuch a manner as to put him in "poſſeſſion of the ſaid kingdom; ſubjoining, "that if he ſhould ſeem to ſide with Charles "VI. who ſtiled himſelf king of France, and "with the dauphin, this would be only out of "diſſimulation, and to forward the ſucceſs of "the ſcheme formed between the ſaid king of "England, and him the duke of Burgundy."

He went from Calais to meet † John the dauphin at Valenciennes, where he greatly careſſed

* Acta Publica, T. 4. part 2. page 177.

† It was on the 12th of November, 1416, and not in the beginning of that year as Rapin de Thoyras aſſerts, vol. 4. pag. 118. This hiſtorian purpoſely miſplaces theſe facts: he puts the death of the dauphin John before the treaty of Calais, and to caſt an obſcurity over the dates, corrects a ſuppoſed error of Mezeray: "The dauphin John (ſays he, ibid. p. 119) died "at Compeigne April 16th, 1416, and not in 1417, as Meze-"ray relates." We know that the year then began at Eaſter; prince John, after bearing the title of Dauphin fifteen months

careſſed him, and ſwore to him, that he had nothing ſo much at heart, as to oppoſe the deſigns of the Engliſh, and that as a faithful vaſſal he would aſſiſt him againſt them with all his powers; he afterwards engaged the Count of Hainaut to promiſe, that he would uſe his utmoſt endeavours to reinſtate him in the good graces of the king and queen, and that till ſuch time as he had obtained this, he would refuſe to give up the dauphin.

This young prince died, as I ſaid before, April 3d. Charles his brother, who was fifteen

months and a half, died April 3d, at the end of the year 1416, and conſequently in 1417, if we reckon the beginning of the year from the firſt of January. I here repeat, that the duke of Burgundy ſigned his treaty with Henry in the month of October 1416; he went to ſee the dauphin John at Valenciennes in the month of November following, and the dauphin John died four months and a half after that interview. This remark is of the greater importance, as it points out all the treachery of the duke of Burgundy, and is at the ſame time a certain proof, that when he afterwards treated with the dauphin Charles (Charles VII.) he did not act with more ſincerity than with the dauphin John. If our hiſtorians had made this obſervation, they would have ſeen in another point of light, and related in a different manner, the reſt of the events that occurred in the reign of Charles VI. See Monſtrelet upon theſe dates, Vol. I. Chap. 161, and alſo the Journal of Paris under the reigns of Charles VI. and Charles VII. page 31.

years old, and the only one remaining of the ſix ſons whom Charles VI. once had, was now become preſumptive heir to the crown. He about the ſame time, that is, April 29th, loſt his father in law, Louis d'Anjou king of Sicily, who loved him tenderly, and who frequently repeated to him in his laſt moments, whilſt he bathed him with tears, that he ſhould never put any confidence in the duke of Burgundy.

This wicked man ſoon publiſhed a manifeſto, wherein he ſet forth, that the adminiſtration of affairs was in the hands of plunderers, and people without faith or honour; that they had poiſoned the two laſt dauphins; that they oppreſſed the liberty of the nobility, and daily burthened the people with freſh taxes; that he therefore exhorted all good Frenchmen to unite with him to remedy the evils which France laboured under, and to relieve the king, queen, and dauphin, from that ſtate of ſhameful captivity in which they were held by dangerous miniſters; he concluded with promiſing to aboliſh all impoſts, and to make uſe of all the force and power which his own * eſtate could furniſh him with, to repulſe the Engliſh. He added in another manifeſto,

* The Publick Acts of England (Vol. I, part 2. p. 119. part. 3. p. 6. 11. and 29.) furniſh additional proofs of his inſincerity.

in

in anſwer to the reproaches and reſtrictions which the king had put upon him, that theſe did not proceed from the king: He knows, ſaid he, the purity of my intentions; I flatter myſelf that he loves me, and that he has not the leaſt ſcruple about my attachment to him; he is my lord, the head of my houſe, and the ſource of my power; I am indebted to him for every thing; I have armed myſelf for him and my country; as ſoon as I have driven from about his perſon thoſe traitors who beſet him, I will go and combat the Engliſh: I will deſtroy impoſture; and the world ſhall ſee whether I have entered into any alliance with them, as ſome inſolent calumniators have had the effrontery to lay to my charge.

He ſet out from Heſdin at the head of 60,000 men; moſt of the cities of Picardy and Champaigne opened their gates to him: he aboliſhed the impoſts in every place through which he paſſed, and the people (always the people) letting themſelves be gulled by this trap, equally frivolous as trite, ſhowered bleſſings upon a perfidious man, who had no other object in view, than to make a diverſion in favour of England. Henry had juſt made a deſcent at Torgues in Normandy, after having remained for near two years in a ſtate of inaction; his

firſt campaign, as I have before related, had drained him of money and ſoldiers; Rapin de Thoyras * relates, that the ſupplies which he obtained from his parliament to proſecute the war, not being proportioned to his wants and ſchemes, he pledged his own jewels, the jewels of his crown, and even his crown itſelf.

It ſhould ſeem as if heaven, unable to deſtroy the French in any other way than by themſelves, took a pleaſure in ſelecting theſe ſcourges from among the royal family. A fund had been eſtabliſhed for the payment of the troops; the queen (Iſabella of Bavaria) imperious, avaricious, vindictive and gallant, wanted to ſeize upon it, under pretext of ſupporting her houſhold, and for the penſions that were due to her: the conſtable d'Armagnac oppoſed this meaſure; ſhe threatened him; he knew her, and reſolved to fruſtrate her deſign; he was certainly a great man; but the means he uſed were ſcandalous: probably, the ideas of ſhame and meanneſs are quite different at court from what they are elſewhere; he informed the king of thoſe things which a huſband ſhould be unacquainted with; Louis de Bourdon, an amiable but raſh man, much in the good graces of the queen, was arreſted, and

* Rapin, Vol. IV. page 128. Ibid. Vol. IV. page 122.

put

put to the torture, then ſewed up in a ſack and caſt into the Seine; this princeſs was baniſhed to Tours, and the dauphin, by the advice of the conſtable, ſeized upon the different treaſures ſhe poſſeſſed, to ſupply the exigencies of the ſtate. * From the time of the aſſaſſination of the duke † of Orleans, ſhe could not hear the name of the duke of Burgundy uttered without ſhuddering: her terrors however gave way to her thirſt of revenge: though conſtantly watched, ſhe found means to write to him to implore his aſſiſtance. He had been for two months ravaging the environs of Paris: his faction was ſo powerful in that capital, that the conſtable d'Armagnac and the dauphin durſt not venture to quit it: he thus kept them at bay, ‡ which favoured the pro-

* Vide Monſtrelet, chap. 167.

† The intrigues of the brother and ſiſter in law, were but too publickly known: it was commonly ſaid, that ſhe had had a ſon by him.

‡ The conſequence which flowed from the diſorder in the ſtate occaſioned by the duke of Burgundy was, that all the other great vaſſals diſunited their intereſts from thoſe of the monarchy; (Vide Acta Publica, T. 3. pars 4. page 23, and 24.) the queen of Sicily, ducheſs of Maine and Anjou, made a truce with Henry for her lands; that is to ſay, ſhe engaged not to furniſh her contingent to France; the duke of Britanny made a ſimilar one; Burgundy, Champaign, Picardy, Artois, and Flanders, were under the power of the duke of Burgundy:

greſs of the Engliſh in Normandy. The joy which he felt upon the receipt of the queen's letter is eaſy to be conceived; he ſaw at one glance all the advantage he ſhould derive from ſuch an union; and the news ſoon ſpread, that he had gone to Tours with aſtoniſhing expedition, at the head of 1500 picked horſemen, and that having with much facility ſet that princeſs at liberty, he conducted her to Troyes. She there fixed her court, and took upon herſelf the title of Regent, by virtue of letters patent which ſhe imagined to be irrevocable, and whereby the king had in 1403 appointed her to govern the ſtate during his illneſs; ſhe created a ſovereign chamber at Amiens, diſſolving the parliament at Paris, the chamber of accounts, and the other tribunals, and expreſſly forbidding any order of the king or dauphin to be obeyed, as they were not free: her ordinances were ſealed with a particular ſeal which ſhe cauſed to be made, whereon ſhe was repreſented as a woman in diſtreſs, extending her arms to implore relief.

Some biſhops interfered, and endeavoured to reſtore the union of the royal family: the ſelf-

Burgundy: hence it may be judged, what difficulties the conſtable and the dauphin had to ſurmount, to procure money and troops.

appointed

appointed regent and the duke of Burgundy named deputies; the dauphin, in the king's name, appointed others: theſe deputies had ſeveral meetings at the village of La Tombe, between Montereau and Bray ſur Seine; but not agreeing upon the principal articles, they determined to refer the matter to the deciſion of the two legates of the Holy See, who were come to offer their mediation: theſe two legates, in conſequence of this determination, aſſiſted at the conferences, and drew up a treaty, which ſtipulated that the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy ſhould jointly govern the kingdom. The conſtable d'Armagnac, and the chancellor Demarle, diſſuaded the king and the dauphin from the ratification of this treaty: they were perfectly well acquainted with the engagement that the duke of Burgundy had entered into with Henry at Calais; could they avoid repreſenting, that his whole life was but a tiſſue of daſtardly and tacit treaſon, or of audacious crimes; and that, by allowing him to return to court, and to take part in the councils, the perſon of the dauphin would be expoſed, and the ſtate given up to it's moſt dangerous enemy? Nevertheleſs, all our hiſtorians, for want of being acquainted with the treaty of Calais, and by not reflecting ſufficiently upon the character of the duke of Burgundy, ac-

cuſe thoſe two miniſters of having oppoſed a reconciliation between him and the dauphin, for no other reaſon, than becauſe they were certain of loſing their places, and being perhaps exiled, had he recovered his former authority at court.

The conſtable had ſent almoſt all his troops to ſurpriſe Montlheri and Marcouſir; before they could poſſibly return, the Burgundian faction ſent advice to Liſle Adam, who commanded in Pontoiſe for the duke of Burgundy, that if he would ſecretly draw near, they were in hopes of being able to introduce him into Paris by Buci gate: he appeared there accordingly with 800 armed men on the night between the 28th and 29th of May, 1418; the ſon of one of the Quarteniers, named Perrinet le Clerc, gave that gate up to him; he had ſtolen the keys from under his father's pillow. Part of the conſpirators immediately diſperſed themſelves into different quarters of the city, crying out, "Riſe, "good people, peace, live the king and Bur-"gundy." The populace anſwered them with ſimilar ſhouts, and having armed themſelves with whatever they could find neareſt at hand, joined the conſpirators. They then proceeded to the Hôtel of St. Paul, in the ſtreet of St. Antoine, broke open the doors, waked the king, forced him to dreſs to put himſelf at their head, and made

made him walk before them in the ſtreets to give credit to his approving of the enterpriſe. Tangui du Chatel, trembling for the dauphin's ſafety, had at the firſt alarm run directly to his hotel: * the young prince was wrapt in ſleep: he covered him up in one of the ſheets, and carried him from his bed to the Baſtile; the next day he conducted him to Melun. That night and the day following, a great number of Armagnacs † were impriſoned: ſome houſes were pillaged, but little blood was ſpilt. Liſle Adam diſpatched a courier to the duke of Burgundy, who was then at Dijon: one may boldly preſume, that the anſwer he received from the duke, on the 10th of June, by two men ſo black and wicked as Merrilliers and Montague, was to excite underhand, a general maſſacre of all thoſe who were not his partizans; for in the firſt tranſports, during the firſt emotions of the ſedition, and till that time, there were only five or ſix perſons killed ‡, whereas, on the 12th, the people on a ſudden gave themſelves

* The Hotel Du petit Muſe, from whence the Street *De petit Muſe* near the Celeſtines derived it's name.

† This was the name of thoſe in the oppoſite faction to that of the duke of Burgundy.

‡ See the Hiſtory of Paris. Pieces Juſtificatives, Vol IV. page 587.

up to the moſt barbarous rage: pillage was one of the leaſt exceſſes of their fury: they butchered women, children, and old men: they broke open the gates of the Conciergerie, and ſet thoſe at liberty who were confined there: the palace-court ſtreamed with the blood of the moſt reſpectable citizens: ſix biſhops, the conſtable d'Armagnac, the chancellor Demarle, the greater part of the preſidents, the counſellors, and the maſters of requeſts ſhared the ſame fate. This outrageous mob, then near the Celeſtines, hurried to the other priſons, and finding the unhappy victims whom they ſought for hidden in the cells of the Chatelet, they ſet fire to them, and they periſhed in the flames: others they caſt from the tops of the towers, who were received below upon the points of ſwords and pikes: the bodies of the conſtable d'Armagnac and the chancellor Demarle, after being dragged through the ſtreets, were caſt into the common ſewer.

On July 14th, the queen and the duke of Burgundy came to Paris; "They there made (as "the hiſtorians relate) a triumphal entry: they "themſelves were ſtrewed with flowers, as well "as the paths they paſſed: nothing was heard "on every ſide but peals of acclamation and "loud huzza's: joy ſparkled in every counte-"nance." Did it efface the infamy which a bad

bad heart generally imprints upon the countenance of villains? By what hands were theſe flowers ſtrewed? By hands that were reeking with blood! What tongues were thoſe that bellowed out thoſe peals of acclamations and loud huzza's? Thoſe very tongues, which but a few days before, in the midſt of maſſacres and carnage, reſembled thoſe of Furies!

* Heaven thought fit to purge Paris of it's infamous inhabitants; before the end of the year, upwards of 100,000 people were carried off by a contagious diſorder; "And theſe were "chiefly the populace and the murderers," ** according to Juvenal des Urſins.

Henry purſued his conqueſts in Normandy: they were not difficult, or rather, what were the conqueſts and glory of this pretended hero, when duly conſidered! If a gentlemen had a quarrel with one of his neighbours, and a relation of this gentleman ſhould ſay to that neighbour; Fight a duel with my kinſman, I will pretend to be his conſtant friend: I will prevail upon him to let me be his ſecond, and whilſt you attack him in front, I will give him wounds behind: in what light ſhould we look upon this relation, and what ſhould we think of the man who would avail himſelf of ſuch a pro-

* Vide Journal de Paris, page 50. ** Ibid. page 448.

poſal?

poſal? Such was in fact the treaty of Calais: ſuch was the drama performed by the duke of Burgundy, and this ſame Henry ſo renowned in hiſtory. *

On the 26th of Auguſt, 1418, he laid ſiege to Rouen: all his attacks were ſo vigorouſly repulſed, that he ſoon gave up hopes of making himſelf maſter of this city, by any other way than that of famine: he blockaded it on all ſides, and even erected gibbets at certain diſtances along the lines, at the ſame time ſending a herald to make a declaration to the inhabitants, that as they obſtinately perſiſted in oppoſing him, he would inſtantly hang up every one of them that fell into his hands. Theſe ſcandalous and barbarous menaces excited nothing but their contempt; and I queſtion whether the Greek or Roman hiſtory can produce an example of a ſiege ſupported with ſo much courage, reſolution, and patriotiſm; but unfortunately they had declared themſelves for the duke of Burgundy: they imagined, as did all the other cities that eſpouſed his cauſe, that his intentions were good; and far from ſuſpecting that he had any underſtanding with the Engliſh, they flattered them-

* He is particularly celebrated as a hero by monkiſh pens, for no other reaſon than that he burnt ſome perſons ſuſpected of being heretics.

ſelves

ſelves he would conſider it as a particular honour to ſuccour them. He, in fact, ſeemed every day preparing for it: but after much delay, he ſent them a meſſage, at the expiration of four months, that ſome unexpected incidents having obliged him to divide his forces, he was abſolutely incapable of fulfilling the promiſe, which he had hitherto made them, and that he adviſed them to capitulate upon the beſt terms they could obtain. * Neither this mortifying advice, nor the ſhocking extremities to which they were reduced, as yet diminiſhed their courage: they had for two months together no other bread to eat than what they made of the ſtraw from their beds, and the leather coverings of old trunks: their other ſuſtenance conſiſted of the fleſh of horſes, dogs, and cats, and even that of the moſt unclean animals. They reſolved upon making an unexpected ſally with ten thouſand men, in order to attack with vigour the enemy's lines, and either force them to abandon them, or all periſh in the attempt. ** Guy le Boutelier, who was their new governor appointed by the duke of Burgundy, gave Henry ſecret intelligence of their deſign, and

* Rapin page 134. and Monſtrelet Chap. 201. ** Vide the Journal of the ſiege of Rouen.

ſent

ſent in the night, two hours before they were to make their ſally, to ſaw away the croſs beams and other props which ſupported the bridge they were to paſs over: the bridge was a pretty large one; as ſoon as it was covered, it began to give way: they puſhed forward, and crowded to get to the end: this precipitate motion completed it's fall: the ditch was deep: ſeveral were killed, others wounded, and a great number ſtifled. Thoſe who got over found the enemy ranged in battle waiting for them before their lines: they ſold their lives ſo very dear, that it is probable, if they had been five or ſix thouſand ſtrong, they would have delivered the city. At length on the 13th of January they ſent deputies to capitulate. The earl of Warwick told them from Henry, that capitulating was out of the queſtion, and that they muſt ſurrender at diſcretion; they looked coldly at the earl of Warwick, and returned without giving him an anſwer. Some hours after, Guy le Boutellier ſent intelligence to Henry, that the garriſon and inhabitants were at work in order to undermine 80 fathom of their walls, and that after they had ſet fire to the four corners of the city, they were reſolved men, women and children, to retire by that breach, and force a way to victory, or to an honourable

honourable death: Fear had that effect upon the Engliſh monarch, which eſteem for ſuch a brave people could not inſpire him with: He ſent them word, that he was inclinable to grant them terms, which were, that the garriſon ſhould retire without arms; that he would maintain the citizens in all their privileges; that they ſhould pay him 345,000 crowns of gold; that all the inhabitants ſhould take the oaths of fidelity to him, and that he might chuſe three from among them, whom he might diſpoſe of at his pleaſure; for in the ſame manner as, in thoſe times, an individual, in order to ſignify that he became the proprietor of a field, cut off three or four branches of a tree, ſo an Engliſh monarch, in order to teſtify that he had obtained the ſovereignty of a city, hung up three or four of the citizens: ſuch a mode of taking poſſeſſion was not practiſed among other nations. Robert de Layel, John Jourden, and Allen Blanchard, had ſignalized themſelves by their firmneſs in all the deliberations: they had never diſcontinued animating and exhorting their fellow citizens to make a vigorous defence; and theſe were the three victims that Henry fixed upon: * but as he was not leſs avaricious than bloodthirſty, Layel and Jourden obtained their par-

* Rapin, page 168, 169.

don,

don, at the price of a conſiderable ſum: Blanchard was beheaded: "I have no fortune," ſaid this brave man as he was going to be executed; "and tho' I had, I would not make uſe of it "to ſave an Engliſhman from diſhonouring "himſelf." All the hiſtorians relate that Henry, at his entry into Rouen, was preceded by a page ſuperbly mounted, who carried at the end of a lance a large fox's tail, probably in honour of Guy le Boutelier; this might appear incredible, if it were not certain that this prince publickly loaded him with careſſes, and appointed him lieutenant of Upper Normandy under the duke of Glouceſter.

During the ſiege of Rouen, the dauphin had ſent ambaſſadors to Henry to treat of peace; plenipotentiaries were appointed on each ſide, who at firſt aſſembled at Alençon, and afterwards at Louvien; but Henry, by the demands he made, was very certain that their conferences would terminate in nothing. The Publick Acts of England prove, that this congreſs was nothing more than a farce on his ſide; a neceſſary and important farce to make it be believed, that as he entered into a negociation with the dauphin, and even offered to join him againſt the duke of Burgundy, conſequently the

Treaty

Treaty of Calais, and that long train of treaſon which was imputed to the duke of Burgundy, were nothing but chimeras and calumnies.

Theſe conferences were ſucceeded by others, which ſeemed to change the ſcene; but the foundation, though under a different form, was always the ſame: the queen and the duke of Burgundy required an interview with Henry to treat of the terms of peace, and of his marriage with Madame Catherine, the dauphin's ſiſter; the park of Meulant was fixed upon for this interview, which took place May 29th, 1419; the conferences began the next day, and continued for upwards of three weeks: Henry required the provinces which were ceded to Edward III. by the treaty of Bretigni. I warn the reader that all I am now going to ſay is directly oppoſite to what all the hiſtorians have related; but I ſhall cite proper proofs, in juſtification of what I advance, and am inclinable to believe, that my reflexions, and the conſequences I draw, will appear juſt.

The treaty which the queen and the duke of Burgundy would have ſigned, would have been invalid. They had, it is true, the king's authority; but he was inſane: the dauphin, who was then ſeventeen years of age, took upon himſelf (which he had a right to do) the title of Regent:

gent: his conſent was neceſſary, and that of the general ſtates, to the ceding of ſuch a number of provinces; beſides the duke of Burgundy found half the kingdom joined him, for no other reaſon but that he was thought to be well diſpoſed, and the only one capable of remedying the evils which the ſtate laboured under; but if he had ſubſcribed to the demands of the Engliſh monarch, he would immediately have been abhorred by the whole nation; all the cities that had declared for him, would have abandoned him, and would conſequently have ſtrengthened the party of the dauphin. * Such are the reflections which the queen, the duke of Burgundy, and Henry previouſly made; thus it was not to confer about peace that they aſſembled.

What then was the real object of their interview at Meulant? This was it, as the ſequel will prove; the queen and the duke of Burgundy had reſolved to deſtroy the dauphin, to marry Madame Catherine to Henry, and to let him ſucceed to the crown. Henry and the duke of Burgundy had a ſecret conference at Meulant, "Which "(ſay the hiſtorians) greatly diſpleaſed all good "Frenchmen." The reſult of this conference was, that the duke of Burgundy ſhould make advances towards a reconciliation with the dau-

* Monſtrelet, chap. 199. P. Daniel, page 538.

phin:

phin: if the young prince conſented to this reconciliation, he would deliver himſelf into his hands and thoſe of the queen; and if he did not conſent to it, appearances would be againſt him; the civil war would be protracted, and the arms of Henry, always ſecretly abetted by the duke of Burgundy, would continue their progreſs. Such was the ſpring of this dark plot: the duke of Burgundy appeared more than ever attached to the intereſts of France, whilſt the conferences were carrying on at Meulant; and when he and Henry thought it was time to put an end to them, they feigned to break them off with much parade and diſſatisfaction with each other: "I "perceive, (ſaid Henry to the duke of Bur- "gundy) that you only want to amuſe me; "but know, couſin, that I will have the girl and "what I aſked with her, or I will turn your "king and you alſo out of his kingdom: * Sire, "(replied the duke of Burgundy) you ſpeak "your pleaſure; but before you turn my lord "and us out of his kingdom, you may aſſure "yourſelf you will have a good deal to do." It ſhould be obſerved, that the Engliſh hiſtorians agree, that Henry, in order to proſecute the war, had pledged his jewels and crown; that he had not 25,000 men; that no army had

* Vide Monſtrelet, chap. 208.

oppoſed

oppoſed his progreſs; that by the duke of Burgundy's diverſion in his favour, and by his treaſonable practices, he had gained poſſeſſion of ſeveral places; and that nevertheleſs, in four years time, he had conquered only a ſingle province. Now if this quarrel had not been a meanly contrived ſcheme between the two princes, to blind and deceive the people, is it natural to believe, that Henry, who certainly was no fool, would have talked in this rodomontade ſtile, and expoſed himſelf to the conſequences of ſuch a diſcourſe to the proudeſt man in the world; to a man who could cruſh him in an inſtant with his own forces only; and ſtill more ſo, by uniting them with thoſe of the dauphin?

The duke of Burgundy and the dauphin appeared to be re-united (*); they ſaw one another on the 11th of June, 1419, near the caſtle of Pouilly le Fort, between Corbeil and Melun, "And ſwore brotherly love to each "other, and to unite againſt the damnable en- "terprizes of the Engliſh:" they appointed the place of rendezvous for another interview on the

(*) Three weeks after this interview, Henry ſurprized Pontoiſe; and Liſle Adam, a man entirely devoted to the duke of Burgundy, and who commanded in that place, was generally accuſed of having given it up to the Engliſh.

20th

20th of Auguſt, which was to be at the bridge of Montereau, after which the dauphin was to repair to the king and queen: this interview did not take place till the 10th of September; the duke of Burgundy was there killed. My opinion concerning this murder is directly oppoſite to thoſe of all the hiſtorians: if my reflexions do not convince the reader, he will at leaſt be ſurpriſed that none of our hiſtorians ſhould have made them before me.

November 20th, 1407, the duke of Orleans and the duke of Burgundy went to maſs at the Auguſtins; where they communicated together, and ſwore by the holy hoſt to love one another from that time like brothers, and to purſue each others intereſts. On the 23d, the duke of Burgundy had the duke of Orleans aſſaſſinated, and on the morrow aſſiſted at the funeral with tears in his eyes, and bearing up a corner of the pall.

In 1413, after ſigning the peace with the ſons of the duke of Orleans, he thought he had found both the happy moment and the means of taking them off; he had entruſted the ſecret to Peter des Eſſars, ſuperintendant of the finances, and his creature: he ſuſpected him of having given the young princes information of his deſign: he continued diſſembling with him, and teſtifying

teſtifying the ſame friendſhip, whilſt underhand he brought him to trial upon a very ſlight accuſation; violating alſo his parole of honour, which he had publickly and ſolemnly given him.

In the month of October 1416, he ſigned the treaty of Calais, whereby acknowledging Henry for the legitimate king of France, he promiſed to ſerve him againſt Charles VI. and the dauphin, and to diſſemble with them, and make uſe of all the artifices againſt them that could be deviſed, and which ſhould be pointed out to him.

Three weeks after, on the the 12th of November, he repaired to Valenciennes, where he greatly careſſed the dauphin John, and promiſed, as a faithful vaſſal, he would aſſiſt him againſt the Engliſh: he afterwards engaged the count of Hainaut to give him a promiſe that he would do all in his power to reſtore him to the king and queen's confidence: "And (ſays Monſtrelet, chap. 161) the duke of Burgundy and the "count of Hainaut ſwore that they would contribute their utmoſt aſſiſtance to the well "governing of the kingdom, and the perſons "of the king and dauphin." He deceived the count of Hainaut his brother in law, and the dauphin John, of whom he had never had the

the leaſt reaſon to complain; and he was ſtill more inclined to cheat the dauphin Charles, with whom he had always been at enmity, and who he had reaſon to think, bore him a mortal hatred.

In fine, he could not declare himſelf *bona fide* and ſincerely againſt Henry, becauſe Henry would not have failed to avenge himſelf, by publiſhing the treaty of Calais. So daſtardly and perfidious a treaty would have covered him with infamy; he would have been execrated by all thoſe who had been impoſed upon by his manifeſtoes, and who had joined his party: thoſe cities which had declared for him, would have found that he had lighted the torch of civil diſcord, that he had cauſed ſo many maſſacres to be committed, and that he was deſirous of ſeizing the reins of government, only to betray the ſtate, and put the nation under the yoke of a foreign nation, its enemy; the French, whom he had ſo long divided, would all have united againſt him; he would have been proſecuted; his peerages and thoſe great fiefs which he held of the crown, and which rendered him ſo powerful, would have been confiſcated; none of his ſubjects or vaſſals could have continued their obedience to him without being guilty of felony and treaſon; they would have abandoned the

father and ſon, as well through duty as contempt; for the ſon (Philip, ſurnamed the Good) had alſo ſigned the treaty of Calais. After the father had been ſlain upon the bridge of Montereau, John Seguinat, his ſecretary, expoſed himſelf to be put to the moſt cruel torture, rather than acknowledge that his maſter had made and ſigned this treaty of Calais. This evinces how much the houſe of Burgundy feared that this treaty, of which there were only ſome ſuſpicions, ſhould tranſpire.

The dauphin was hated, perhaps ſtill more by his mother than by the duke of Burgundy; ſhe inceſſantly repeated that this young prince and the conſtable d'Armagnac, in order to frame a pretext for ſeizing upon certain ſums of money, which ſhe had amaſſed by the retrenching of her expences, had carried their ill treatment of her ſo far as even to make her huſband ſuſpect her virtue; that they had been the cauſe of poor Louis de Bourdon being drowned; and that they had baniſhed her to Tours, only to put the ſeal to her reproach, and to perſuade the world that the reports, which were ſpread concerning her gallantry, were but too true. My ſon, added ſhe, has done me great injury; but he is young; I am a good mother, and I pardon him. Now there are things which the beſt

hearts

hearts cannot forgive; and certainly Iſabeau du Baviere was naturally very wicked, very avaricious, and very vindictive. Beſides, ſhe thought that this ſon whom ſhe had perſecuted, if he came to the throne, would certainly diſcard her from court; or if ſhe remained, ſhe would then be deſerted and abandoned, and without credit or conſequence; whereas, by marrying her Idol, her lovely Catherine, to Henry, and letting the ſucceſſion of the crown devolve to him, the tenderneſs of this dear child, and the gratitude of her ſon-in-law, would preſerve to her that ſtate of power and grandeur, of which ſhe had ever been jealous. It cannot be doubted but theſe were her ſentiments, when we find her falling into fits of the moſt extravagant fury upon the news of the death of the duke of Burgundy. Why this fury and theſe tranſports, if it were not that ſhe thought the death of this wicked man would render the ſcheme they had planned abortive? Why did ſhe league with Henry, and the new duke of Burgundy? Why did ſhe write, and cauſe letters to be written, to all the cities, by her crazy huſband, that their ſon was a traitor and a homicide, whom they diſinherited, and whom the nation ſhould proſcribe?

Let us now ſee if it was probable, that the dauphin thought of killing the duke of Burgundy:

this duke was in poſſeſſion of Flanders, Artois, the duchy and county of Burgundy; his partizans commanded the beſt places in Picardy, Champaign, Brie, and half the Iſle of France: the council and parliament were compoſed of his creatures; the city of Paris, which at that time gave the lead to all the reſt of the kingdom, was entirely at his devotion; the count of St. Paul, his nephew, whom that capital had required of him for it's governor, was then reſident therein with a numerous garriſon; in fine, he had a ſon twenty-three years of age, much beloved, who paſſed for a ſenſible and learned prince: it is plain that his partizans would join his ſon, either through inclination or to ſecure their fortunes and employments; and that this ſon, already ſecretly united with the Engliſh, would think he had a right to favour them openly under pretence of avenging his father's death: ſo that the dauphin would not only have committed an uſeleſs crime, but one which could not fail of being very fatal to his intereſt. The hiſtorians do not make theſe reflexions, or, at leaſt, do not appear much affected by them. All, except Juvenal des Urſins, ſeem to be convinced that Tanguy du Chatel, and others who compoſed this young prince's council, had reſolved to avenge the death of the duke of Orleans; that

is to ſay, they had ſolemnly promiſed and ſwore perfect ſecurity to the duke of Burgundy, with no other view than that of aſſaſſinating him; that they thought nothing of making themſelves execrable to the whole earth by this treaſon; and that to be ready to execute ſo villainous a plot, they did not heſitate to expoſe the dauphin, with whom their fortune was then united, and to riſk his fate, and even his life; for he might have been killed in the fray upon the bridge of Montereau. Theſe are, we muſt allow, courtiers of a very uncommon kind; they blindly ſacrifice every thing to the manes of a maſter, who could do nothing more for them, and whom they had loſt upwards of twelve years. It ſhould at the ſame time be obſerved, that Tangui du Chatel paſſed generally with both parties, for a prudent generous man, full of candour and probity; and that he had given, and gave afterwards, ſuch proofs as evinced, that he was more attached to the perſon, than to the rank of the dauphin. But let us examine the circumſtances of the fact, as they are related by Jean Juvenal des Urſins.

The caſtle of Montereau is ſeparated from the city by the bridge: the duke of Burgundy's troops occupied the caſtle; thoſe of the dauphin were in the city: on the ſide of the caſtle, a barrier was erected, through which paſſed the duke

of Burgundy, with the lords who accompanied him: the dauphin, with the ten lords, came through a ſimilar barrier, which had been erected on the ſide of the city. There was an incloſure formed with hedges on the middle of the bridge, with two avenues leading to it, the one from the caſtle, the other from the city; and both the ſaid lords were viſited, and had nothing about them but their habergeons and ſwords. When they had got into the avenues, each of them had guards placed at the two entries; that is to ſay, the dauphin at the paſſage thro' which he entred from the city, and the duke of Burgundy at that through which he entered from the caſtle; and when they had reached the incloſure, his royal highneſs the dauphin ſpoke firſt, and ſaid to the duke of Burgundy, Well, couſin, you know that by the treaty of peace which was lately concluded between us at Melun, we agreed, that within a month from that time, we ſhould meet in ſome place to treat of the exigencies of the kingdom, and find means to reſiſt the Engliſh; this place was fixed upon: we came upon the day appointed, and have waited for you fifteen whole days; during which time, our people and yours have done a great deal of injury to the ſubjects, and our enemies go on conquering of countries; as we have already promiſed and ſworn peace, I look

look upon it as concluded betwixt us; let us conſult, I beſeech you, upon the means of oppoſing the Engliſh. The duke replied, that nothing could be conſulted upon, or done, except in the preſence of the king his father; and that it was neceſſary he ſhould come. The dauphin told him very mildly, that he would wait upon the king his father whenever he himſelf pleaſed, but not at the pleaſure of the duke of Burgundy; and that it was well known, that whatever they ſhould tranſact, would be agreeable to the king. Some words aroſe, and the count de Noailles * approached the ſaid duke, who reddened and ſaid, My lord, you are going now to your father; at the ſame time laying his left hand upon him, and drawing his ſword half out of the ſcabbard with his right; then Tangui du Chatel took the dauphin in his arms, and carried him without the gate, at the entrance of the incloſure; and ſome ſtruck the ſaid duke of Burgundy and the ſaid Count de Noailles, and they were both at the point of death; and the people of the caſtle, who were near the gate of the incloſure, never ſtirred, thinking it was the dauphin which was killed; and as Tangui du Chatel was heavily taxed with having ſtruck the blow, he cleared himſelf to the ſon of the duke of Burgundy, affirming like

* He was a Burgundian.

outrageous behaviour, had been killed on the ſpot. If it be urged that the dauphin's letter ſhould be ſuſpected; it muſt alſo be agreed, that credit is not to be given to the accounts invented and publiſhed by the court of Burgundy; the ten * lords who were with the dauphin, were as worthy of belief, as the ten who accompanied the duke of Burgundy; there were no other than theſe twenty perſons who could know how the thing paſſed; and it is only upon the teſtimony of the one or the other of theſe that the cotemporary hiſtorians wrote: theſe hiſtorians may have been impoſed upon, or might be attached to one or the other of the parties: if the account of Jean Juvenal des Urſins is queſtioned, becauſe he is ſaid by ſome to have been a partiſan of the dauphin's, why ſhould not that of Monſtrelet be alſo doubted, who was born in Hainaut, and who was, and ought to have been, well affected to the houſe of Burgundy? There is ſcarce a chapter in his hiſtory, wherein we may not diſcover his partiality for the duke of Burgundy and

* If the duke of Burgundy had not brought his misfortune upon himſelf, and if they had treacherouſly aſſaſſinated him, would not they alſo have killed the lords who accompanied him? They were contented with making them priſoners, and afterwards releaſing them; deſirous that witneſſes, who could not be ſuſpected, might themſelves relate the affair as it happened.

his

his ſon; it is particularly flagrant in the relation of the murder at Montereau. Beſides, ſeveral circumſtances which he inſinuates are manifeſtly falſe; I ſhall quote only one at preſent. He relates (probably to render Tangui du Chatel more odious) "that the duke of Burgundy, upon entering the barriers, gave Du Chatel a friendly ſlap upon the ſhoulder; ſaying to the lord de St. Georges, this is the man I confide in:" now we have the depoſition of the lord de St. Georges: he does not mention a word concerning this; certainly the Burgundian would not have forgot ſuch a circumſtance in his depoſition.

Let us examine the particular and only proofs, which ſeem to ſupport the opinion of thoſe, who think that the murder of the duke of Burgundy was a premeditated aſſaſſination; this was an information given at the requeſt of his ſon and widow, before the bailiff of Dijon, and others of their officers. It conſiſts of ſix depoſitions, that is to ſay, of a declaration that Bertrand du Noailles, and William Lapaleur had made before two notaries, of what they pretended had been related to them by lord Archambaut de Noailles ſome time before his death; as this declaration contains nothing but hearſay, and as it's falſity is manifeſt, I ſhall produce nothing but the depoſitions of the four eye-witneſſes, Jean Seguinat,

ſecretary to the duke of Burgundy, Anthony de Vergi, Guillaume de St. Georges, and Gui de Pontaillier, three of the ten lords who had accompanied him; the reader will, doubtleſs, preſume that the judges, the place where the information was made, and the evidences are to be ſuſpected.

The depoſition of Jean Seguinat, ſecretary to the duke of Burgundy.

——— "My late lord of Burgundy, and the "lords of his company, with the deponent, paſ- "ſed and entered the deponent's barrier; and as "ſoon as they got therein, Tangui du Chatel "pulled the deponent by the ſleeve within the "ſaid barriers, to cloſe the circles thereof more "haſtily." The murder of the duke of Burgundy could not be repreſented as a premeditated aſſaſſination, without exciting doubts and perplexities in people's minds, with regard to the precautions taken on both ſides. From the manner in which Seguinat expreſſes himſelf, it ſhould ſeem, that the dauphin had the power to open and ſhut the barrier on the ſide of the duke of Burgundy: common ſenſe cannot give credit to this: this ſame Seguinat, the other witneſſes, and all the accounts agree, that it was ſettled, for the ſake of mutual ſafety, that the dauphin's friends ſhould have

have the city, and thoſe of the duke of Burgundy the caſtle: * the duke of Burgundy arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon, with 400 armed men, and 200 archers; he placed them in the caſtle and its environs, and poſted a guard near his barrier; but the caſtle, this guard, and thoſe troops would have been no ſecurity to his perſon, nor to the lords that accompanied him, if he had not been at liberty to open his barrier, in caſe of danger, as the dauphin had the power of opening his. "The aforeſaid duke of Burgundy" (continues Seguinat) "perceived the dauphin, "who was near the gate towards the city, upon "the ſaid bridge, at the ſpot where there was a "little retreat formed of hedges; the aforeſaid "lord went towards him, took off his black velvet "cap, and knelt, ſaying to him, My lord, after "God I ought to obey none but the king and "you; I come to offer you my perſon, my "eſtates, all my forces, allies, and friends; if "any thing has been ſaid to you to my diſad-"vantage, I intreat you not to believe it.—Do "I ſay right, gentlemen, added he? You ſpeak "ſo well, replied the dauphin, that it is im-"poſſible to talk better; riſe, my good couſin, "and be covered, taking him by the hand. "The preſident of Provence came up to the

* Vide The Journ. pages 219 and 220.

"dauphin,

" dauphin, and whiſpered in his ear, and the " deponent perceived the ſaid preſident and the " dauphin beckon to Tangui du Chatel; when " the ſaid Tangui ſtruck the ſaid duke of Bur- " gundy betwixt the ſhoulders with a large war- " hatchet, without a dagger, which he held in " his hand; ſaying to him, My lord of Burgundy, " get in."—We ſhould conſider that the two barriers were ſix feet high, one towards the caſtle, the other towards the city; and that there was a ſpace railed in, forming a kind of ſaloon, or incloſure, in the center of the bridge, to which there were two entries, one towards the caſtle, and the other towards the city; the dauphin was at the entry towards the caſtle, that is to ſay, on the ſame ſide on which the duke of Burgundy was coming; the duke was not yet got into the ſaloon, in as much as Du Chatel, in puſhing him with the hatchet, ſaid to him, Get in. " My lord of Burgundy," continues Seguinat, " turning on one ſide, could ſee a tall brown man " who held a great ſharp-edged drawn ſword, and " at this inſtant the dauphin's party having " begun to cry out, *Kill, kill*, the tall brown man " ſtruck the ſaid lord of Burgundy with the ſaid " ſword upon the head, coming down his face " on the right ſide, and my lord of Burgundy " aforeſaid had his arm cut almoſt through near

" the

" the wriſt, by endeavouring to parry the ſtroke;
" Barbazan was near the perſon who gave the
" blow, which, however did not level my ſaid
" lord; but at that inſtant, Tangui du Chatel
" ſtruck the ſaid lord of Burgundy ſo violent a
" blow upon the head with the ſaid war-hatchet,
" that he fell to the ground on his left ſide, his
" face being turned towards the dauphin, who
" was preſent; the lords of Noailles and
" d'Autrey, placing themſelves before the ſaid
" lord of Burgundy to parry the blows which
" were aimed at him, were wounded, and at
" the ſame time that *Kill, kill,* was cried out,
" thoſe who were in the dauphin's company,
" made priſoners of thoſe who came in with my
" lord of Burgundy, except my lord of Neuf-
" chatel, who eſcaped. The deponent, all the
" while looked upon the ſaid lord of Burgundy
" as in great danger of his life, when he ſaw a
" man kneel, and plunge his ſword into his
" body; then my lord of Burgundy, ſtretching
" his arms, gave a ſigh, and expired."

It appears by all the accounts, that both parties were afraid of each other; and that all poſſible ſecurities were reciprocally given and received; moreover the duke of Burgundy, lived in continual dread ſince the aſſaſſination of the duke of

" Orleans,

Orleans, and the different maſſacres which he had occaſioned in Paris; he had erected at the hotel of Burgundy (in the ſtreet Mauconſeil, where ſtands the Italian comedy) a tower, and in the tower was a chamber without windows, the door of which was very low; he locked it himſelf at night, opened it in the morning with all the precaution that is attendant upon guilt: as he was ſo very careful at Paris, it is not to be imagined he would be negligent during his conferences with the dauphin; it is even ſaid, that he heſitated for a long time before he went to the interview at Montereau; that he had ſome forebodings of his being killed there; that this was predicted to him, and that he did not endeavour to conceal his fears: theſe muſt have increaſed his natural diſtruſt, and made the ten lords, who accompanied him, ſtill more attentive to the leaſt motions of thoſe ten who were with the dauphin; a man nevertheleſs comes and whiſpers the dauphin in the ear; a wink is given to Du Chatel, he puſhes the duke of Burgundy to give him notice that he is going to ſtrike him; he has a great war-hatchet, though it had been mutually agreed that they ſhould have nothing but their ſwords; the dauphin's partizans are placed behind the duke of Burgundy: is all this probable? ſhould not the Burgundians have been directly behind

behind their duke; and the dauphin's party, in the ſame manner, immediately behind him?

Du Chatel, Barbazan, and the others who compoſed the council of this young prince, knew the diffident character of the duke of Burgundy; it was not to be doubted that he would be upon his guard: all that they could expect was to ſurprize him, which muſt have been done by preventing the ſoldiers placed at the barriers from immediately giving their aſſiſtance, upon hearing the cry of "Kill, kill;" but men do not defile haſtily, and in great numbers, through a wicket; beſides, the Seine is pretty broad at Montereau, and conſequently the barriers, that were erected at the two extremities of the bridge, were at ſome diſtance from the incloſure which was made in the middle; the ten Burgundian lords could not therefore be ſuddenly overwhelmed with numbers: a defence of ſome minutes gave the men of their barrier ſufficient time to come to their aſſiſtance; then the engagement would have been general, and the dauphin might have been killed: if it is objected, that his council did not think this expedient, and that he was only deſirous of revenging the death of the duke of Orleans and the conſtable Armagnac, I do not think myſelf obliged to anſwer ſuch an abſurdity.

The

The depoſition of Guillaume de Vienne, lord of St. Georges.

—— "Then my lord the duke of Burgundy "entered the ſaid barriers, with the ten lords of "his company, and the wicket by which they "entered was immediately ſhut; and when the "ſaid lord the duke perceived the ſaid dauphin, "who was at one of the ſquares above the "bridge towards the river, at a retreat made in "the form of a paſs-over, my lord the duke "aforeſaid went towards the dauphin, and kneel-"ing before him, took off his hood, bowing to "him, and ſaying, that he was come, agreeable "to his command, to engage in his ſervice, and "to employ himſelf in promoting the good of the "kingdom; and then the dauphin took him "by the hand, and made him riſe, and they held "each other by the hand, and it appeared to the "deponent that they were converſing lovingly "and graciouſly together; as the deponent was "taken ill, he retired to a corner hard by to "vomit; when hearing an outcry of *Kill, kill,* "he turned about, and ſaw many armed men "enter the ſaid barriers and cloſes that were on "the dauphin's ſide; Tangui du Chatel then "came up to him, and led him out of the ſaid "barriers, and gave him to the lord of Guitri,

"who

" who conducted him to his hotel in the city,
" ſick as he was. Being interrogated concern-
" ing thoſe who ſtruck and murdered the duke of
" Burgundy, he ſaid, he did not ſee the duke of
" Burgundy ſtruck, becauſe be was ill and vo-
" miting at the time; and the thing was ſo ſud-
" denly done that he could not perceive who
" did it."

* The lord of St. Georges had been chancellor to the duke of Burgundy, who was killed at Montereau, and ſerved his ſon in the ſame capacity for a ſalary of 3000 livres; he is ſo honeſt as not to violate truth, by averring that his maſter was treacherouſly aſſaſſinated; but, at the ſame time, he will not depoſe againſt him, and acknowledge that he ſaw him put his hand upon the gripe of his ſword, in order to ſtrike the dauphin: he thinks proper to ſay, that he could not ſee what paſſed, as he was then vomiting in a corner. Moreover, we find that this lord of St. Georges was not wounded, as Monſtrelet falſely aſſerts.

The depoſition of Anthony de Vergi.

—— " My lord of Burgundy and the dauphin
" had hold of each others hands, and it appeared

* Etat de la Maiſon du Duc de Bourgogne, p. 121.

" to

" to the deponent, that they were conferring lo-
" vingly and graciouſly together: and whilſt
" they were ſo doing, the deponent heard, *Kill*,
" *kill*, cried in a loud voice, and ſaw a great
" number of armed men within the barriers and
" cloſes erected on the dauphin's ſide. Being
" interrogated concerning thoſe who ſtruck and
" murdered the late duke, he ſaid, he ſaw very
" well that he was ſtruck, but that he could not
" diſtinguiſh the perſon who ſtruck him, be-
" cauſe thoſe who ſtruck were behind him; and
" the thing was done very ſuddenly."

As this witneſs ſays ſimply, that " it ap-
" peared to him," that the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy were conferring graciouſly together, he acknowledges he did not hear what paſſed betwixt them. As he could not ſee thoſe who ſtruck the duke of Burgundy, becauſe they were behind the duke, and between this prince and the deponent; ſtill leſs could he ſee, whether the duke had previouſly made the motion, to put his hand upon the guard of his ſword, in order to ſtrike the dauphin. This depoſition, like the preceding, appears to be that of a man who cannot ſpeak the truth, but who, at the ſame time, would evade a lie. Beſides, I ſhall always ſay, that it appears to me, that the lords

who

who eſcorted the duke of Burgundy muſt have been immediately behind him, in the ſame manner as thoſe who eſcorted the dauphin muſt have been immediately behind the dauphin.

The depoſition of Gui de Pontaillier *.

—— "And the duke of Burgundy and the "dauphin held each other by the hand, and it "ſeemed to him, that they were converſing "lovingly and graciouſly together; and whilſt "they were thus converſing, he heard, *Kill*, "*kill*, cried in a tumultuous manner, and with "a loud voice; and then he ſaw a great "number of armed men enter the ſaid barriers "and cloſes erected on the dauphin's ſide.—He "moreover ſays, that he ſaw Tangui du Cha-"tel ſtrike the duke of Burgundy with a war-"hatchet; and that M. Robert de Loire held "the duke of Burgundy by the ſleeves of his "gown behind."

Seguinat depoſes, that he was ſeized and made a priſoner by M. Bataille; and that he does not know the name of the tall brown man who held a ſharp-edged drawn ſword, and who firſt ſtruck

* He was chamberlain and penſioner of the duke of Burgundy.

the

the duke of Burgundy *: this tall brown man was M. Robert de Loire, who, according to Pontaillier's depoſition, was employed in holding the duke of Burgundy behind by the ſleeves of his gown. Seguinat adds, that Barbazan was near the tall brown man; Pontaillier ſays, that he did not obſerve Barbazan within the barriers, but that he ſaw him out of the barrier, looking through a wicket that was open. Monſtrelet † pretends, that "Barbazan reproached thoſe who "had planned the thing, with having diſho- "noured the dauphin for ever; and that it "would have been better that he had died, than "to have been preſent at that day's work." We find that the evidences do not agree, and that the account of the cotemporary hiſtorian is contray to the teſtimony given by the witneſſes.

‡ Charles de Bourbon, count of Clermont, had married one of the daughters of the duke of Burgundy; he was one of the ten lords who accompanied him; he blamed his father-in-law, and declared for the dauphin, whoſe party he followed ever after; it ſhould be obſerved, that he was a young § prince of diſtinguiſhed merit. The

* The depoſition of Seguinat. † Vide Monſtrelet, p. 212. ‡ Proofs towards a Hiſtory of the Murder of the Duke of Burgundy, p. 290. § He was ſeventeen years of age.

year

year following, by his valour, reſolution, and good conduct, he drove the count de Foix out of Languedoc. If the murder at Montereau had been a vile plot, is it natural that he would have united with traitors, men of no faith, and who ſpared no oaths to draw their victim into the ſnare? He always perſiſted to the duke of Burgundy's ſon, that his father had occaſioned his own misfortune; and he compelled him to ſend him back his wife (Agnes of Burgundy) with whom he had not yet conſummated his marriage, becauſe ſhe was not of age: he conſummated it at Autun, September 17, 1425.

In the ſequel of the Journal of Paris, under the reigns of Charles VI. and Charles VII. we find "A Memoir to ſerve for a Hiſtory of the "Murder of John without Fear, Duke of Bur-"gundy." This is a narrative from the editor. We cannot think he could have the effrontery to give it as authentic, as he compiled it ſolely from the depoſitions which have been juſt preſented to the reader, and from ſome other pieces extracted from the Regiſters of the Chambers of Accounts at Dijon, which furniſh no ſufficient proof of a premeditated aſſaſſination. Amongſt other falſe and ridiculous circumſtances which we meet with in this narrative, and theſe pieces, I ſhall quote only

only the following §: "The animoſity of the "duke's aſſaſſins was ſo great, that every one "was deſirous of having a bit of his gown to "put upon his own.——He was ſtript of every "thing but his under petticoat and his buſkins. "—— His body was placed upon a bier, ſuch as "is made uſe of to carry the poor to their grave, "and he was carried to the hoſpital, and from "thence to the church, by the moſt infamous "wretches that could be found.——Tangui du "Chatel, being willing to diſtinguiſh himſelf "among the accomplices, took one of the duke's "black ſpurs with gilt rowels, and made an "etwee of it to chaſe the falcon-bill-hatchet "with which he had ſtruck him." Du Chatel always paſſed for a haughty man, but frank and candid *; if he had through affectation made a parade

§ P. 223, 224, and 289.

* In 1425, Arthur of Richemont, brother to the duke of Britanny, offered to bring Charles VII. all the troops of the duchy, upon condition that he would baniſh from his perſon all thoſe who were accuſed of being accomplices in the death of the duke of Burgundy; Tangui du Chatel went and threw himſelf at Charles the Seventh's feet, and begged of him, as a recompence for his ſervices, that he might have leave to retire: this prince embraced him, ſhed tears, and ſaid that he could not conſent to that ſeparation. This faithful ſervant prepared every thing for his departure, and exiling himſelf, left the miniſtry, and the command of the armies, with as much glory

as

parade of this hatchet, and publicly ſhewn it, would he have had the effrontery to ſend to the court of Burgundy a challenge, wherein he declared, that he had no other deſign than to ſave the dauphin; that he had never ſtruck, nor bid any one ſtrike, the duke of Burgundy; that all thoſe who accuſed him of ſo doing lied; and that he offered to fight them in the Champclos?

Pierre Fenin and Monſtrelet, were certainly much attached to the Burgundian party? S. Remi ſerved in the Engliſh troops, and was afterwards chancellor to Philip of Burgundy, ſon to John without Fear; ſhould the hiſtorians who ſucceeded theſe three cotemporary hiſtorians, blindly have followed them? It ſhould be ſtill further obſerved, that the circumſtances of the murder, as related by Fenin, Monſtrelet, and S. Remi, are different from thoſe depoſed to by the witneſſes; ſo that either the depoſitions of the witneſſes are ſuppoſititious, or the account given by theſe hiſtorians is falſe; moreover, the relation of Fenin is not agreeable to that of Remi; and Monſtrelet has only copied, word for word, S. Remi, who ought to be throughout ſuſpected.

as ever was gained by continuing in them. It muſt be agreed, that ſo good a maſter, and ſo good a ſervant, have but very little of the appearance of traitors and aſſaſſins.

After having examined both ſides of the queſtion with all poſſible attention; if I muſt give my opinion, it is this: The dauphin was at the entrance of the incloſure: he advanced three or four paces before the duke of Burgundy: after the firſt compliments were over, he entered into an explanation, and upbraided him with not having performed any part of the promiſe he had made in the conference at Pouilli le-fort; that he had not withdrawn his garriſons from the places which he ought to have evacuated; that his troops had all along remained inactive, and had not oppoſed any of Henry's new enterprizes; that the Engliſh had ſurprized Pontoiſe by eſcalade, and that all France accuſed Liſle-Adam of having given up that city. We ſhould conſider the duke of Burgundy as a veteran in guilt, naturally haughty, in alliance with the queen, maſter of the king's perſon, and deſpiſing a young prince, who was only ſeventeen years of age, and of a mild diſpoſition; he muſt have been the more piqued at the reproach concerning the taking of Pontoiſe, as Liſle-Adam * was looked upon as the immediate agent of all his treachery and barbarity: he

* Liſle Adam had entered into the ſervice of the duke of Burgundy by treachery; he was alſo accuſed of having occaſioned the maſſacres in Paris in 1418, and of inſulting the corpſe of the conſtable d'Armagnac.

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therefore behaved very inſolently, and ſaid to the dauphin (putting his hand at the ſame time to the guard of his ſword *) that the king and queen ſhould judge of theſe reproaches and of the quarrel he ſeemed ſo fond of entering into, and that he would go to wait upon them immediately. It was very natural to ſuppoſe him capable of making an attempt upon the dauphin's life. Robert de Loire and the Viſcount de Narbonne ſtruck him, whilſt Du Chatel, who was behind the dauphin, drew off this prince immediately, and conducted him into the ſaloon: *Kill him, Kill him*, was then the outcry; upon which the Burgundian lords ſaw through the ſaloon, which was ſurrounded with a rail, a number of men enter into the barrier. It ſhould be obſerved, that according to the depoſitions of the witneſſes, there was no barrier between the dauphin and duke of Burgundy, as the cotemporary hiſtorians aſſert.

I ſhall dwell but little upon facts that every one are accquainted with. The new duke of Bur-

* Monſtrelet aſſerts, that the duke of Burgundy wanting to bring his ſword more forward, which had ſlipped back during his kneeling before the dauphin, Robert de Loire ſaid to him, What, will you draw your ſword in the preſence of the dauphin? and that then Du Chatel cried out, Now is the time, and ſtruck the ſaid duke of Burgundy.

gundy purſued the deteſtable ſcheme projected by his father, under pretence of avenging his death; he united with the queen to ruin the dauphin, and to deprive him of the crown, in order to place it upon Henry's head. This wicked woman kept her court at Troyes, in Champagne; ſhe had conducted her huſband thither, whoſe diſorder had for ſome time paſt degenerated into a a confirmed inſanity. Henry repaired to this city on the 20th of May, 1420, and the next day a treaty was ſigned, which was called *the Peace of Troyes*; it conſiſted of XXXI articles; but I ſhall cite thoſe only that are moſt material.

" The king of England having become ſon " to the king of France, by his marriage with " the princeſs Catherine, ſhall honour the king " and queen of France as his father and mother.

" He ſhall in no ſhape prevent the king of " France, during his life time, from preſerving " the royal dignity, and receiving the revenues " of his crown.

" As the ſaid king of France is by his diſorder, " prevented from attending to the government of " the ſtate, the king of England ſhall, from this " day forth, be regent of the kingdom, and then " govern it with equity and juſtice, with the " counſel of the princes, great lords, barons, " and nobles of the ſaid kingdom.

In "

" In all public acts, the king of France, ſpeak-
" ing of the king of England, ſhall make uſe of
" this form, Our dearly beloved ſon, Henry
" king of England, and heir of France."

It is to be obſerved, that the princeſs Catherine, whom Henry eſpouſed, had two elder ſiſters living, and married; one to the duke of Bretagne, and the other to the duke of Burgundy: that upon the dauphin's demiſe, ſuppoſing that women could ſucceed to the throne, theſe two princeſſes muſt certainly have inherited before Catherine, their younger ſiſter.

" After the death of king Charles, the crown,
" with all its dependencies, ſhall devolve to the
" king of England, and his heirs."

That is to ſay, if Henry and Catherine died without iſſue, the crown of France ſhould go to Henry's brothers, or their heirs.

" When the king of England, or any of his
" heirs, ſhall have mounted the throne of France,
" the two kingdoms of France and England
" ſhall be perpetually united under the govern-
" ment of one and the ſame prince; there ſhall
" not be a king in each kingdom; but one
" king ſhall be ſovereign in both realms, without
" either being ſubordinate to the other: the laws
" and liberties of each of the two kingdoms
" ſhall be completely preſerved.

" Conſidering the crimes that have been com-
" mitted by Charles, who takes upon himſelf
" the title of dauphin of Viennois, it is agreed,
" that no truce nor peace ſhall be made with
" him, without the conſent of the two kings,
" and the ſaid duke of Burgundy."

" All thoſe, (ſays du Tillet) who deſigned
" this treaty, were deficient in common under-
" ſtanding; it was then allowed that the king
" was out of order, and, conſequently, that he
" was incapable of negociating and contracting,
" particularly to the detriment and total everſion
" of his crown, of which he was only admini-
" ſtrator, and not the lord or proprietor; and
" ſuppoſing him to have been in the ſoundeſt
" and moſt perfect ſtate of mind, he could not
" deprive his ſon, the dauphin, of the ſaid crown,
" as by an expreſs and fundamental law, it was
" his right, and muſt devolve to him, indepen-
" dent of the title of heir; ſo that no exherida-
" tion, confiſcation, or diſqualification, could
" take place for any crimes in any caſe whatever:
" for in France the king cannot deprive his ſon,
" or the next heir, of the ſaid crown, unleſs he
" deprive him of life; and even after his death,
" it will go to his male deſcendants, if any he
" has." *

* Recueil des Traités, &c. page 323.

There

There is in this reſpect, a difference betwixt princes of the blood and private perſons. A prince of the blood does not ſucceed to the crown as heir, as being a prince of the blood to which it belongs: neither the king, nor the court of Peers, nor the whole nation aſſembled, can deprive him of a right, which is immediately tranſmitted to him with his life, and which only dies with him, provided he is not alienated from the nation, and has not by ſome act renounced his being a Frenchman. Beſides, putting the caſe that Charles VI. had, on account of the ſuppoſed crimes committed by the dauphin, a right to exclude him from the crown, could he alſo exclude the branches of Orleans, Anjou, Alençon, and Bretagne?

To theſe obſervations I ſhall ſubjoin ſome others, which our hiſtorians have neglected to make. Common ſenſe and equity require, that when a crime has been committed, a complaint thereof ſhould be firſt made; that an information ſhould be lodged upon that complaint; that upon the information a decree ſhould be iſſued; and that the perſon accuſed ſhould be judged afterwards upon his reſponſes, or be condemned for contumacy, if he doth not appear.

The treaty of Troyes bears date the 21ſt of May, 1420; Charles VI. therein appoints Henry heir to the crown, and declares, that no peace or

truce ſhould be concluded with Charles, who ſtyles himſelf dauphin, on account of the crimes he has committed.

* On the 23d of December following, that is to ſay, ſeven months after this treaty, the ſaid duke of Burgundy appeared in mourning before Charles VI. and Henry, makes a complaint, and demands juſtice againſt his father's aſſaſſins. Upon this complaint, and the remonſtrances of the univerſity, and the deputies of ſeveral cities, and upon the concluſions of the attorney general, without taking the depoſitions of any witneſſes, Charles VI. after ſaying that the late duke of Burgundy, who was ſo great a friend to the ſtate, and who had ſerved it ſo well, was baſely, treacherouſly, and diabolically ſlain upon the bridge of Monterau, by the dauphin and his accomplices, iſſues an arret, whereby, with the advice of the members of his great council, the preſidents and laymen of his parliament, and other of his counſellors, he declares, that all the accomplices in the ſaid murder, are incapable and unworthy of all ſucceſſion, direct or collateral, and of all honours, dignities, or prerogatives whatever; and that they have moreover incurred

* Preuves pour ſervir à l'hiſtoire du duc de Bourgogne, page 347.

all

all the pains and penalties ſet forth by the laws againſt high treaſon.

* The information upon this ſuppoſed murder, and the depoſitions of the witneſſes (Jean Seguinat, William de Vienne, Anthony de Vergi, and Gui de Pontaillier †) were made in the month of April, 1421.

Thus on the 21ſt of May, 1420, without taking any legal ſteps againſt the dauphin, he is diveſted of all the rights conferred on him by birth; and on the 23d of December following, a complaint is received againſt him, and articles iſſued, whereby he is condemned as a rebel; and on the 10th of April, 1421, an information is lodged, and the witneſſes are heard upon the crime, of which he is accuſed: is not this condemning a man previous to his trial? It will not be ſaid, that the witneſſes were the dauphin's priſoners, and that they could not be heard ſooner: the Journal proves they were at perfect liberty, and in the city of Paris, at the very time of the arret's being iſſued, on the 23d of December, 1420.

* Ibid. page 271.

† Obſerve that Seguinat and Pontaillier are the only evidences who depoſe, that it was a premeditated aſſaſſination; and that theſe two witneſſes contradict each other in circumſtances. Ibid. page 243.

It

It ſhould be further obſerved, that the ten lords who accompained the dauphin upon the bridge of Montereau, and the ten who accompanied the duke of Burgundy, were the only perſons who could make oath how the action paſſed; that the dauphin partly maintained, that the duke of Burgundy was going to draw his ſword to ſtrike the dauphin; that according to the juriſprudence of thoſe times, when the crime was doubtful, a combat was ordered between the accuſers and the accuſed; and that the dauphin's party propoſed this combat, to prove their innocence.

We find that the duke of Burgundy, after having been inſtrumental in the aſſaſſination of the duke of Orleans, his ſuperior, and his lord by blood, in one of the ſtreets of Paris, made Jean Petit, a cordelier, maintain, "That every "vaſſal and ſubject did a meritorious deed in kill-"ing a tyrant, even by ſurprize and treachery, "notwithſtanding any oath or engagement con-"tracted with him, and without waiting for his "being condemned by trial." The parliaments of Paris, and the univerſity, condemned this abominable doctrine in 1416; they revoked this ſentence in 1418, upon the duke of Burgundy's ſollicitation; and when this wicked man was killed in 1419, on the bridge of Montereau, they

they proſecute and proſcribe the dauphin. Every one knows to what extremities he was reduced; and that the Engliſh, when he took upon him the title of king, after the death of his father, called him in deriſion, *the King of Bourges.* He was obliged, through a kind of baſhfulneſs, to ſhut himſelf up when he took his meals. Saintrailles coming to ſpeak to him about an urgent affair, found him going to dinner with the Queen, and nothing on the table but a loin of mutton, and two pullets.

I have ſaid already, that Henry was four years in making himſelf maſter of Normandy, though no army oppoſed his progreſs, and though he was favoured by the diverſion and ſecret treachery of the duke of Burgundy: that the young duke of Burgundy publickly eſpouſed his cauſe, and conducted him to Paris, and gave up that capital to him, with above thirty other conſiderable cities. I have had occaſion to give a ſketch of the Engliſh monarch's ſeverity, at the battle of Azincourt, and the ſiege of Rouen: I could give ſeveral other inſtances of it, but ſhall confine myſelf to this. At the attack of Montereau, he had taken eighteen gentlemen priſoners; at the end of a few days, being irritated at the vigorous defence of the governor, who had retired into the caſtle, he ſent a meſſenger to ſignify to him, that if

he

he did not ſurrender, he would immediately hang thoſe eighteen gentlemen; the governour returned for anſwer, that he ſhould continue to do his duty, and that he had too favourable an opinion of the king of England, to imagine him capable of executing menaces ſo ‡ contrary to the laws of war, and of nations: upon which Henry ordered the eighteen gentlemen to be hanged. Such was the prince who wanted to reign over the French, and to whom hiſtorians give the titles of *magnanimous*, *juſt*, *generous*, and *victorious*. He died at Vincennes the 31ſt of Auguſt, 1422, of a diſorder which was called *la mal S. Fiacre*, * and which it is ſaid was no other than a fiſtula. His ſon, who ſucceeded, being but eight or nine months old, he appointed the dukes of Bedford and Glouceſter, his brothers, one to be regent in France, and the other protector in England; recommending to them in a particular manner, carefully to cultivate and make uſe of the duke of Burgundy's friendſhip. He was certainly in

‡ Rapin de Thoyras, page 144 and 147.

* It appears that the cure of this diſorder was unknown till the time of Louis XIV. It uſually produces ſuch a general corruption in the blood, *that*, hiſtorians ſay, *a prodigious quantity of lice iſſued from Henry's eyes and ears, and as ſoon as they were waſhed away, more made their appearance.*

the

the right, for as ſoon as the duke had returned to his duty, that is to ſay, as ſoon as the French diſcontinued fighting againſt one another, the Engliſh were driven out of the kingdom, which they had torn to pieces for upwards of three centuries, by means of the fiefs that they there poſſeſſed, and the diviſions which they inceſſantly fomented. They retained nothing but Calais; this place had coſt Edward III. a ſiege of eleven months; the duke of Guiſe retook it in 1558, in the ſpace of eight days *. A prodigious quantity of cannon was found in it, with arms and ammunition, and proviſions in abundance, and this inſcription upon one of the gates.—*The French will take Calais, when lead floats on water like cork.*

In the hiſtory of theſe wars, beſides the inconveniences, diſorders and evils, inſeparable from the government, there are epochas to be obſerved as ſingular, as they were fatal. Louis the Young repudiated Leonora of Aquitaine; ſix weeks after, ſhe married Henry duke of Normandy, count of Anjou, who afterwards became king of England, and to whom ſhe brought as a dower Poitou, and all Guyenne, as far as the Pyrenees. Philip of Valois, in 1346, at Creci,

* Vide Guillaume Paradin, and P. Daniel.

king

king John, in 1356, at Poitiers, and the conſtable Albret, in 1415, at Azincourt, were all in the ſame ſituation; they might have triumphed over the Engliſh without fighting; they attack them, and are defeated. Philip the Bold, to whom his father, king John, had ceded Burgundy, marries the heireſs of the count of Flanders, and this new branch of the royal family, becomes its moſt implacable and dangerous enemy. Duke John, in 1416, ſecretly concludes the treaty of Calais, whereby he acknowledges Henry as the legitimate king of France; * Philip his ſon, who had alſo ſigned that infamous treaty, publickly confirmed it in 1419, under pretence of avenging the death of his father; he conducts Henry to Paris, and delivers up that capital to him, with more than thirty other places, and continues for ſixteen years to deſolate his country, and perſecute the heads of his houſe: at laſt, the grievances which he complains of from the Engliſh, joined to the diſguſts which their natural arrogance excited in him, induce him to reſolve upon abandoning them; but as this determination is neither prompted by virtue nor honour, the condition upon which he propoſes to ceaſe being the enemy of his country, is the ceding to

* Acta publica, T. 4. page 277.

him

him of ſeveral territories; and to give a gloſs to this demand, he conſtantly maintains, that his father was ſhamefully aſſaſſinated, and obſtinately inſiſts, that Charles VII. ſhould acknowledge this in the treaty. Charles was of a very mild, tractable, and ſympathiſing diſpoſition, and tho' very courageous, † never reflected without horror, upon the torrents of blood that might be ſpilt in a ſiege or battle: he conſidered that France had been pillaged for upwards of twenty years, by civil and foreign wars; that the good of his people ought to be his ſupreme law; and that, as the father of his ſubjects, it was neceſſary he ſhould do, what he would not have done if he had been only a private gentleman; he therefore ſubmitted to all the conditions that were impoſed by his imperious vaſſal. Rapin de Thoyras obſerves, with regard to this Philip duke of Burgundy, ſurnamed the Good, "that it frequently happens, "that elogiums and ſurnames are given to "princes, which agree very little with their real "characters." The reflection is juſt: this Philip the Good, was void of faith and probity, immoderately ambitious, and conſtantly meditating how to aggrandize himſelf: he was not leſs op-

† He was more than once the firſt to mount the breach at an aſſault, and to fight the enemy arm to arm.

preſſive,

preſſive, leſs cruel, or leſs unjuſt to his neareſt relations, than he was to his ſovereign: he ſhamefully perſecuted Jacqueline of Bavaria, his couſin, and obtained her ſucceſſion of inheritance, in the moſt tyrannical manner; he ſeized upon Brabant, Lothier, Limbourg, and Anvers, which belonged to his ward, the young count de Nevers.

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